

# MODERN LANGUAGE QUARTERLY

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June, 1960

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Volume XXI

Number 2

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SEATTLE

# MODERN LANGUAGE QUARTERLY

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## DUDLEY D. GRIFFITH

1882-1960

The death of Emeritus Professor Dudley D. Griffith on March 6, 1960, saddened his many friends and associates. Although retired from teaching for eight years, he had continued his studies and kept in touch with the University until the late period of illness. Born in Evanston, Illinois, April 16, 1882, the son of a clergyman, Dudley Griffith was naturally attracted to letters, and the span of his years covers an era in American education, Midwestern and Western, as well as a decisive period in the life of the University of Washington.

Professor Griffith graduated from Simpson College, Indianola, Iowa, in 1903, and then for ten years taught at various Midwestern colleges: Missouri Wesleyan, Simpson, and Park. He taught both Greek and English; in addition, he coached baseball and football and at one time served as dean of men.

In 1913 he went to the University of Chicago for graduate study, was a fellow, became secretary to Professor John M. Manly, chairman of the English Department, and obtained his doctor's degree in 1916. Professor Griffith taught at the University of Chicago and at Grinnell College, Iowa, and after a year of research at the British Museum, came to the University of Washington in 1924. He was already well known to scholars for his studies in Chaucer which, together with his experience with methodology of research, greatly helped to enhance the graduate program of the English Department. In 1929 Professor Griffith became chairman of the Department, which at that time included Drama and Speech. From 1930 until 1934 he also served as dean of the College of Liberal Arts.

Administrative duties did not stifle Professor Griffith's interest in scholarship. His *Origin of the Griselda Story* (1931) is a basic work for anyone interested in Chaucer's version of the Griselda story; and his *Bibliography of Chaucer, 1908-1924* (1926), brought up to date of 1953 (this supplement was published by the University of Washington Press in 1955), is a standard reference work. He also made contributions on Chaucerian subjects to the *Manly Anniversary Studies* (Chicago, 1923) and to the *Malone Anniversary Studies* (Baltimore,

1949). He was an active member of the editorial board of the *Modern Language Quarterly* from its inception in 1940.

Dudley Griffith, as his friends called him, came to Western American college teaching in the period of its adolescence and at the University contributed to its maturation. He responded voluntarily to its diverse needs as teacher, as research scholar, and as administrator, the latter during a particularly difficult period of economic crisis and political disturbance. Whatever the burden, he always had time for personal conferences and always showed a kindly interest in each individual. In these qualities he has left a heritage all the more valuable in these later days of unprecedented growth and necessary but impersonal mechanization.

E. H. EBY

*University of Washington*

# A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF CRITICAL ARTHURIAN LITERATURE FOR THE YEAR 1959

*Prepared by*

PAUL A. BROWN

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ADA</i>	Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur
<i>AnBret</i>	Annales de Bretagne
<i>Archiv</i>	Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen
<i>AUMLA</i>	Journal of the Australasian Universities Language and Literature Association
<i>BA</i>	Books Abroad
<i>BBCS</i>	Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies
<i>BBSIA</i>	Bulletin Bibliographique de la Société Internationale Arthurienne
<i>BC</i>	Bibliotheca Celtica (National Library of Wales)
<i>Beiträge</i>	Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur
<i>(Halle)</i>	(Halle)
<i>Beiträge</i>	Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur
<i>(Tübingen)</i>	(Tübingen)
<i>BHR</i>	Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance
<i>BRAE</i>	Boletín de la Real Academia Española
<i>CCM</i>	Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale (X <sup>e</sup> -XII <sup>e</sup> Siècles) (Univ. de Poitiers)
<i>CE</i>	College English
<i>CL</i>	Comparative Literature
<i>CN</i>	Cultura Neolatina
<i>DA</i>	Dissertation Abstracts
<i>DLZ</i>	Deutsche Literaturzeitung
<i>DU</i>	Der Deutschunterricht (Stuttgart)
<i>DVLG</i>	Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte
<i>EA</i>	Études Anglaises
<i>EC</i>	Études Celtiques
<i>EG</i>	Études Germaniques
<i>EHR</i>	English Historical Review
<i>EIC</i>	Essays in Criticism
<i>ELH</i>	Journal of English Literary History
<i>ES</i>	English Studies (Amsterdam)
<i>FiR</i>	Filologia Romanza
<i>FS</i>	French Studies
<i>GL&amp;L</i>	German Life and Letters
<i>GR</i>	Germanic Review
<i>GRM</i>	Germanisch-romanische Monatsschrift, Neue Folge
<i>GSLI</i>	Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana
<i>JAF</i>	Journal of American Folklore
<i>JEGP</i>	Journal of English and Germanic Philology
<i>KFLQ</i>	Kentucky Foreign Language Quarterly
<i>LBB</i>	Leuvense Bijdragen (Bijblad) ('sGravenhage)
<i>LI</i>	Lettere Italiane
<i>LIC</i>	Llen Cymru
<i>LR</i>	Les Lettres Romanes
<i>MA</i>	Le Moyen Age
<i>MÆ</i>	Medium Ævum
<i>MF</i>	Midwest Folklore

Expenses on the bibliography were defrayed by a grant from the Committee on Research, Temple University.

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|-------|--|
| MLN   | Modern Language Notes                                      |
| MLQ   | Modern Language Quarterly                                  |
| MLR   | Modern Language Review                                     |
| MP    | Modern Philology   |
| MS    | Mediaeval Studies  |
| N&Q   | Notes and Queries  |
| NLWJ  | National Library of Wales Journal                          |
| NM    | Neuphilologische Mitteilungen                              |
| NS    | Die Neueren Sprachen                                       |
| OL    | Orbis litterarum   |
| PMLA  | Publications of the Modern Language Association of America |
| RBPH  | Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire                    |
| RES   | Review of English Studies                                  |
| RF    | Romanische Forschungen                                     |
| RJ    | Romanistisches Jahrbuch                                    |
| RLC   | Revue de Littérature Comparée                              |
| RLR   | Revue des Langues Romanes (Montpellier)                    |
| RP    | Romance Philology  |
| RR    | Romanic Review   |
| SF    | Studi Francesi   |
| SFQ   | Southern Folklore Quarterly                                |
| SN    | Studia Neophilologica                                      |
| SP    | Studies in Philology                                       |
| TLS   | [London] Times Literary Supplement                         |
| TSL   | Tennessee Studies in Literature                            |
| WW    | Wirkendes Wort   |
| YCGL  | Yearbook of Comparative and General Literature             |
| YWES  | Year's Work in English Studies                             |
| YWMLS | Year's Work in Modern Language Studies                     |
| ZAA   | Zeitschrift für Anglistik und Amerikanistik                |
| ZCP   | Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie                       |
| ZDA   | Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur  |
| ZDP   | Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie                        |
| ZFSL  | Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur         |
| ZRP   | Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie                      |
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## THE IMAGERY OF LORCA'S *YERMA*

By CALVIN CANNON

The action of *Yerma* represents a young wife's longing to have a child and her growing anxiety over her failure to do so. In despair she finally murders her husband, thus destroying all hope of bringing life into the world. It is an uncomplicated plot, the simple tale of frustrated motherhood. Such action can scarcely in itself grasp and hold us as it does in Lorca's other tragedies. But if at the dramatic level *Yerma* seems slender and weak, at the level of imagery it is one of the great tragedies of the Spanish theater. That the achievement of *Yerma* is primarily one of imagery is perhaps what Lorca himself had in mind when he called the work a tragic poem rather than a poetic tragedy.

Clear indication of the importance of imagery is its presence in all elements of the play. It is in the prose and the verse; it exists in relation to the minor characters as well as to the protagonist; and it derives both from overt action and from simile and metaphor. (The river in Act II, for example, is present in the dramatic structure; its imagery is overt. When the Old Woman says that "los hijos llegan como el agua," we are dealing with simile.) The most obvious characteristic of the images is that they are often repeated. The frequent recurrence of such images as water and flowers, for example, needs no proof. Less obvious is that they are repeated in an organized and meaningful way.

On examination certain patterns emerge: images of light and darkness, of water and dryness, and of flowering and withering. And hovering over the entire play, there is the image of the title and the protagonist, *Yerma*, the image of barrenness which contrasts with the play's images of fruitfulness. Each of these patterns, moreover, is interwoven with the others, the total effect being one of a rich and complex unity. But patterned recurrence of the images is not of primary importance: most significant is that the imagery of *Yerma* serves to confirm and to express in itself the play's fundamental tragic tension.

The imagery of *Yerma* begins in the title, a word used ordinarily when speaking of land, as in *tierras yermas*. Yet there are no barren lands in *Yerma*. On the contrary, those we see and hear about are fertile and productive, and *Yerma's* and Juan's own lands are among the most productive in the village. Nor are there any barren trees, plants, or shrubs. Surrounded by the productivity of Mother Nature, *Yerma* suffers humiliation and a keen awareness of guilt:

Que estoy . . . rebajada hasta lo último, viendo que los trigos apuntan, que las fuentes no cesan de dar agua y que paren las ovejas cientos de corderos, y las perras, y que parece que todo el campo puesto de pie me enseña sus crías tiernas, adormiladas. . . (II, 2)<sup>1</sup>

For Yerma, fertility and procreation are inexorable imperatives. She knows that even the stone gives life when faced with the demand of the fructifying rain: "A fuerza de caer la lluvia sobre las piedras éstas se ablandan y hacen crecer jaramagos. . ." (I, 1). We may recall Plato's words that "in fertility and generation woman does not set an example to the earth, but the earth sets an example to woman."

But Mother Earth is more than an example for Yerma; so intimate is the relation between the two that we may speak of an identification. Yerma is identified with the earth in her name, and she affirms the identification when she calls herself a "campo seco." It is the identification that explains why she goes out barefoot at night: "Muchas noches salgo descalza al patio para pisar la tierra, no sé por qué" (I, 1). From such a *participation mystique* comes Yerma's realization that she alone fails to attain Nature's goal. Yerma, then, is more than a name and a title: in the context of the play it is an image of the protagonist's estrangement from Nature. We may quite rightly say that the underlying tragic conflict is between fruitfulness and barrenness. All the leading imagery patterns serve to confirm and restate this tension.

The most overt pattern in Yerma is that of light and darkness, with its corollaries of morning and night, white and black. The action begins in "una alegre luz de mañana" and ends with a stage that is "muy anochecido." The first half of the play takes place during the day, the second half at night. The overt light and darkness imagery also appears in other forms. There is light, for example, in the "niño vestido de blanco" in Yerma's dream. And parallel to this child in white are Yerma's sisters-in-law, dressed in the black of mourning and death. As noticeable as such imagery may be, it is not in itself particularly meaningful. The meaning is clear only in the pattern's verbal statement, where the antithesis between light and darkness possesses mythic depth.<sup>2</sup> From the mythic perspective, light is the highest good, the supreme goal. Darkness, on the other hand, is ambivalent, containing the possibility of both good and evil. The tragedy of Yerma is that night's evil side gains the victory.

The verbal light imagery centers on fire, sun, and dawn. The numerous references to fire appear in archetypal symbolization of eroticism and creativity. In the song of the Hembra, for instance, fire participates in the impregnation of the water maiden:

<sup>1</sup> Federico García Lorca, *Yerma*, en *Obras Completas*, recopiladas por Guillermo de Torre, 4ª edición (Buenos Aires, 1944), Vol. III. Citations are to act and scene.

<sup>2</sup> See Gustavo Corroa, *La poesía mítica de Federico García Lorca* (Eugene, 1957).

La arena de las orillas  
y el aire de la mañana  
le daban fuego a su risa  
y temblor a sus espaldas.

(III, 2)

Yerma, crying out her need to conceive, yearns to be a mountain of fire:

Quando me cubre cumple con su deber, pero yo le noto la cintura fría como si tuviera el cuerpo muerto, y yo, que siempre he tenido asco de las mujeres calientes, quisiera ser en aquel instante como una montaña de fuego. (III, 1)

The archetypal associations of the sun in the play are analogous to those of fire. In the opening scene the sun symbolizes masculine virility: Yerma complains that Juan's face is white, "como si no te diera en ella el sol." His sunless face contrasts with the sunburned face of Victor. Gazing on the latter, Yerma says his cheek is like a "quemadura." "Debe ser el sol," he replies. The male sun also participates in the cosmic dance urged by Yerma: "¡Que se agiten las ramas al sol / y salten las fuentes alrededor!" And the Old Woman describes her nine living sons as "nueve soles."

The crucial imagery of light, however, is dawn, and through dawn, conception and birth of the new light. Mythically, impregnation is the penetration of the sun into the earth, the planting of light in darkness. The mother with child is the mother with light. In this context María describes her child as a "palomo de lumbre." The wife who conceives during the pilgrimage becomes "reluciente." The witch Dolores tells of a woman who gave birth to twins, "con la cara reluciente." Yerma, continuing the images, replies: "Yo tengo la idea de que las recién paridas están como iluminadas por dentro . . ." (III, 1). And to the barren wife, the washwomen chant: "¡Que relumbre!"

The light that comes to the darkness will also emerge from it, as the dawning sun emerges from Mother Night. Yerma speaks in this frame when she yearns for "lo que puede salir relumbrando de mi pecho." The reference to dawn is explicit when a washwoman sings of "La aurora que mi niño / lleva en el delantal" (II, 1). The Macho of Act III returns to the image when he envisions birth as "el blanco gemido del alba." And in the same scene Yerma, imagining the child she hopes to bear, says he is like a "rayo de aurora." In each of these instances we perceive the primordial reference to the birth of the luminous son.

We now come to the culminating image of the luminous child. When María tells Yerma that she is with child, Yerma inquires after the circumstances of her conception. The child she is to bear, María replies, is "un palomo de lumbre que [mi marido] me deslizó por la oreja" (I, 1). The luminous dove is the traditional Catholic symbol for the Holy Spirit, the fructifier of the Virgin. When we relate such



imagery with the name of the girl, María, we see her as a figure of the Virgin Mary, the Christian expression of the archetypal Mother. The child the Virgin will bear is the divine luminous child, the light that comes out of darkness, who is, in Johannine terms, light in darkness. Yerma's confrontation with María, then, is real and experiential contact with the Child and the Mother.

Within the same frame we understand Yerma's dream which begins the play. According to Lorca's directions, "La escena tiene una extraña luz de sueño." The light is not simply dream light, but there is something strange, perhaps even celestial, about it. Then, in the dream, "Un pastor sale de puntillas mirando fijamente a Yerma. Lleva de la mano a un niño vestido de blanco." Here again is the image of the luminous child. In Christian tradition, furthermore, "un niño vestido de blanco" suggests the Christ child, so often dressed in white.<sup>3</sup>

The shepherd of Yerma's dream may be identified with the traditional angel of the Annunciation. Given the rural setting of *Yerma*, it is understandable that the angel should take on a shepherd's form.<sup>4</sup> It appears, then, that Yerma's dream is a vision of the Annunciation. But in tragic irony, that Annunciation is fulfilled not in Yerma but in María. Like so many tragic heroes, Yerma has come close to realizing a divine destiny, and the glory of its vision, both in her dream and in María, never quite fades away until the fall of absolute night.

In the preceding examples, the pattern of light and darkness has been a consummative image, an image of the highest good. But in the mythic mind, light and darkness are not inherently good. Darkness, particularly, is of ambivalent character: it is good only in so far as it gives birth to dawning sun. On the positive side, night is the consecrated hour of fecundation, when Mother Night receives the light of the sun. Hence the fertility dance of Act III takes place at midnight, the hour of death and birth:

Te desnudaré,  
casada y romera,  
cuando en lo oscuro  
las doce den.

Night's fertility is most intensely sung in the ensuing ritual:

HEMERA  
Cuando llegue la noche lo diré,  
cuando llegue la noche clara.  
Cuando llegue la noche de la romería  
rasgaré los volantes de mi enagua.

NINO  
Y en seguida vino la noche  
¡Ay, que la noche llegaba!

In the phrase "la noche clara," we find the paradoxical nature of night

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the following villancico: "Dime Niño, ¿de quién eres? / ¿Todo vestido de blanco? / Soy de la Virgen María / y del Espíritu Santo."

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the Angel-Shepherd of Hermas' *Book of the Shepherd*.

that contains the darkness of the mother and the light of conception. If, however, the light fails to come, then night is evil; and Yerma's fear is precisely that her darkness will remain darkness. During the pilgrimage, the chorus sings prayers that Yerma may flower, that is, give light, and remain not in shadow and darkness. Thrice the plea rises: "Señor, que florezca la rosa, / no me la dejéis en sombra." In these moments Yerma again envisions the light of birth, as she had when she first dreamed of the child in white.

Even these magical efforts of Yerma to bear light eventually fail. Beginning in Act II a negative blackness appears in both the overt and indirect images. Negative darkness arrives in the second act in the form of Yerma's sisters-in-law. In Act III Yerma herself seems aware of the evil side of darkness when she says, "ahora . . . voy entrando en lo más oscuro del pozo." Darkness without light is also present in the cemetery, which was "demasiado oscuro," and in Juan's complaint that Yerma is obsessed by "cosas oscuras." Dramatic action and dramatic imagery thus work together toward the final tragic event. The light imagery of the first half of the play gives way to the imagery of darkness in the second half. Yerma at the midnight hour does not give birth, but slays her husband and with him the luminous child. She who had so wanted to create life ends by taking it; she who had wanted to bring light ends by bringing darkness.

Images of water and dryness are scarcely less significant than those of light and darkness. Both patterns span the length of the tragedy, are constantly interwoven, and ultimately are perspectives of the same conflict. The pattern of water and dryness, however, does not inform the play to the extent of the previous pattern, particularly at the overt level. The overt expression of dryness is limited to a remark by Juan that his lands are dry. Overt water imagery is most significant in Act II, Scene 1, which takes place at the edge of a river. The indirect expression of the pattern gives more importance to the images of dryness than does the overt pattern. Words such as *seco*, *polvo*, and *sed* are metaphoric statements of the imagery of dryness. Metaphoric water imagery culminates in the dance of the water maiden, but throughout the play we encounter metaphoric uses of words like *río*, *torrente*, and *fuelle*.

The pattern of water and dryness is introduced in the first scene. Yerma offers Juan a glass of milk, explaining that he has become "enjuto." "A mí me gustaría que fueras al río y nadaras y que te subieras al tejado cuando la lluvia cala nuestra vivienda," she cries. Mythically, Yerma wants Juan to identify himself with the fructifying rain and river. In Act III the river appears as the masculine principle in the "chorro de agua" and in the "río de hombres." The same symbolism is in Yerma's belief that "los hijos llegan como el agua," in her description of the voice of Victor as "un chorro de agua que te llena toda la boca," and in the Old Woman's dictum that the men must "darnos de beber agua en su misma boca." The culmination of the



motif occurs in the song of *Hombre I°* and the *Hembra*, which draws also on the forces of the sun and the wind:

En el río de la sierra  
la esposa triste se bañaba.  
Por el cuerpo le subían  
los caracoles del agua. . . .  
¡Ay, marchita de amores  
con el viento y el agua! . . .  
Ay, que el amor le pone  
coronas y guirnaldas,  
y dardos de oro vivo  
en su pecho se clavan.

As the dance comes to a climax, the Macho celebrates the river's luminous impregnation of the woman, uniting the images of water and light: "¡Venid a ver la lumbre / de la que se bañaba!"

Dryness is most significant as an image of Yerma's barrenness. Accepting the identification of earth and woman, Yerma calls herself a "campo seco." A washwoman calls her "la casada seca." Yerma's response to her dryness is thirst. She identifies herself as "la que se muere de sed." Mothers are those who do not thirst; women who cannot bear children become dust: "nos hacemos polvo." And when a woman is dry, her breasts contain sand: "¡Ay de la casada seca! / Ay de la que tiene los pechos de arena" (II, 1).

The image of dryness is also inherent in Juan. Victor remarks that Juan's character is "seco," and Yerma complains that Juan is "enjuto." But Juan's dryness goes beyond the meaning of these words. His real dryness is that he does not want to give Yerma a child, that he wills to deny her the fructifying water, just as he refused to let her draw water at the fountain. As for Juan's dryness, it is curious to note that, while his lands are dry, they are far from barren. Juan has made them the most productive in the village, but he has done so by nightly irrigations. We may wonder if Yerma is aware of the irony—that Juan passes the nights bringing water to his fields instead of satisfying her more compelling thirst.

It is apparent from these examples of the pattern of water and dryness that its imagery restates the pattern of light and darkness. Both are perspectives of the one tragic tension of fruitfulness and barrenness, each in its way enriching the tragedy as expressed in action and plot.

The imagery drawn from flowering and withering differs from the other leading tropes in that it has virtually no roots in overt imagery or dramatic action. Flowers are not projected into the action, and there are no literal references to them. Yet the flower sequence is not isolated from the rest of the play, nor is it mere lyrical adornment. It exists rather in coalescence with the other imagery patterns and serves equally as an essential statement of the tragedy.

Like the images of light, the basic reference of flowering in the play

is to conception and birth. For Yerma, the pregnant womb is a "canasto de flores" and women with child are "llenas por dentro de flores." She tells the pregnant María to breathe "suave como si tuvieras una rosa entre los dientes." The climax of the flower sequence comes during the pilgrimage. Here the Macho sings of fecundation as a flowering: "Amapola y clavel será luego / cuando el macho despliegue su capa." The Hembra responds: "Ay, que el amor le pone / coronas y guirnaldas . . ." (III, 2). The crowning of the woman with flowers represents the exaltation of the mother to the level of goddess. In this way the crown motif is related to the divinization of the flower which takes place during the pilgrimage.

In her prayer to the saint, Yerma sees that the flowering of the rose in her is dependent on the divine rose, which is like a ray of dawn and is surrounded by streams of milk. She prays that the divine rose bestow on her withered flesh the blessings of its fructifying light and water:

El cielo tiene jardines  
con rosales de alegría,  
entre rosal y rosal  
la rosa de maravilla.  
Rayo de aurora parece,  
y un arcángel la vigila,  
las alas como tormentas,  
los ojos como agonías.  
Alrededor de sus hojas  
arroyos de leche tibia  
juegan y mojan la cara  
de las estrellas tranquilas.  
Señor, abre tu rosal  
sobre mi carne marchita.

(III, 2)

In these verses Yerma has come to see impregnation as a divine event. Yerma's divine rose clearly recalls the archetypal great flower, whose meaning was commonly that of the highest goal, of the *summum bonum*.<sup>5</sup> Flowers in general and the rose in particular have been from primitive times symbols of the mother goddesses. As such, the divine flower gave birth to sun gods and gods of light; the son of the divine mother often appears as flowering light.<sup>6</sup> We may recall Dante's white rose or the god of light Phanes-Dionysius, described as an "all-shining flower."<sup>7</sup> In the birth of the god, the dawn motif also appears, as in Plutarch, where the sun is born at dawn from a flower. In Yerma the divine rose is similarly a rose of light, "amarilla," with "dardos de oro," and like a "rayo de aurora." Moreover, Yerma's luminous rose is surrounded by "arroyos de leche tibia," so that the three great

<sup>5</sup> Erich Neumann, *The Great Mother* (New York, 1955), pp. 61, 261 f., 307, 325.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 262, 266, 326.

<sup>7</sup> Cited by Walter Wili in *The Mysteries* (New York, 1955), p. 71.

consummative images of the play are united at this climactic moment: the divine light, the divine water, and the divine flower.

The image of the flower is opposed by the imagery of flowers that are "machacadas" and "marchitas." Yerma tells Juan that she could endure being without child only if she were old and "tuviera la boca como una flor machacada" (II, 2). A woman prays in Act III for Yerma's "carne marchita," a phrase Yerma repeats: "Señor, abre tu rosal / sobre mi carne marchita." But not until the Old Woman shouts that she is like "los cardos del secano, pinchosa, marchita," does she wholly awake to its significance:

¡ Marchita, sí, ya lo sé! ¡ Marchita! . . . Desde que me casé estoy dándole vueltas a esta palabra, pero es la primera vez que la oigo, la primera vez que me la dicen en la cara. La primera vez que veo que es verdad.

This realization provokes the final tragic event. Alone with Juan, she exclaims "¡ Marchita!" when he tells her to resign herself to a childless life. In desperation she strangles him and then cries out: "Marchita, marchita, pero segura. Ahora sí que lo sé de cierto. Y sola. . . Con el cuerpo seco para siempre."

The climax of the dramatic structure is a powerful scene. Its most expressive qualities, however, are not in the action alone but in its coalescence with the imagery. In Yerma's final words, she recognizes in the near total darkness of the midnight hour that she is irrevocably dry and withered. The imagery of darkness, of dryness, and of the withered flower all converge at the moment of murder and death. The tensions that dominated the play—light and darkness, water and dryness, flowering and withering—are now resolved. The strength of this resolution in darkness is intensified by the contrast it forms with the preceding scene in which the imagery of light, water, and flowering are brought to their climax. Thus the culmination of the positive images is followed swiftly by the culmination and triumph of the negative ones.

There is a great deal more that may be said about the imagery; yet the limits of this paper have been sufficient to indicate much of its skillful and meaningful organization. This organization begins in the simple recurrence of certain images. But as we read the play with greater care, we find that the recurring images form patterns which encompass the entire tragedy. We find them in the dramatic action, in overt and indirect expression, in the prose as well as the verse. By reaching into all elements of the play, the images provide significant organic unity, at both the dramatic and verbal levels. Thus the songs, were it not for the imagery they share with the prose passages, would stand apart from the rest of the organism. But because of their shared imagery, the songs can be appreciated fully only when read in relation to the total pattern. Similarly, the many minor images—wind, birds, stones, wheat, etc.—and the various supporting characters—Victor, María, Dolores, the Old Woman, etc.—are all caught up in meaning-

ful relation to the dominant patterns. And finally, the leading images are more than a means of unity or a lyrical adornment. They are in themselves a statement of the tragedy's basic issue: Yerma's barrenness in a Nature whose supreme imperative is fruitfulness. The imagery of Lorca's *Yerma* is a functional means of communication, illuminating both the particular tragedy of Yerma and the larger context in which it is acted out.

#### *Amherst College*

## APPRECIATING WHITMAN: "PASSAGE TO INDIA"

By JOHN LOVELL, JR.

The difficulty of appreciating Walt Whitman is a natural outgrowth of the vast effort just to understand him. In 1885 Edmund Stedman called him "the most subjective poet on record";<sup>1</sup> that estimate has not perceptibly changed. The Library of Congress *Catalog*, published as part of the centennial celebration of the first edition of *Leaves of Grass*, lists 1,055 references,<sup>2</sup> most of which are devoted to Whitman's personality and philosophy. But appreciation of his poetry as poetry is still, as John Cowper Powys indicated, the most neglected approach.<sup>3</sup>

Whitman was aware of one important yardstick of great poetry: the extent to which it is inspired and understood by readers. "To have great poets," he said, "there must be great audiences, too."<sup>4</sup> He helped to disqualify himself for highest honors by making statements that apply this yardstick most severely. One example should suffice: "The proof of a poet shall be sternly deferr'd till his country absorbs him as affectionately as he has absorb'd it."<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, he urged a method of poetic appreciation, borrowed from Sainte-Beuve, which can be justly used to appreciate Whitman himself.

For us the greatest poet is he who in his works most stimulates the reader's imagination and reflection, who excites him the most himself to poetize. The greatest poet is not he who has done the best; it is he who suggests the most; he, not all of whose meaning is at first obvious, and who leaves you much to desire, to explain, to study, much to complete in your turn.<sup>6</sup>

In such a spirit the present paper accepts the invitation of Gay Wilson Allen and Charles T. Davis, in their fine interpretive volume of Whitman's poems,<sup>7</sup> to attempt through the careful examination of one poem (and in some respects Whitman's greatest), "Passage to India," to evoke from the reader a genuine appreciation of the poet.

It is unfair for a reader to judge Whitman's poetry by any standard other than that of Whitman the poet. Some have tried to make his strange, inexplicable personality, his alleged democratic dishonesty and insincerity, and his assumed pose the main bases for the evaluation of

<sup>1</sup> Edmund C. Stedman, *Poets of America* (Boston, 1885), p. 352.

<sup>2</sup> U.S. Library of Congress, Reference Department, *Walt Whitman: A Catalog Based upon the Collections of the Library of Congress* (Washington, 1955).

<sup>3</sup> John Cowper Powys, *Visions and Revisions* (New York, 1915), p. 281.

<sup>4</sup> *Complete Poetry and Prose of Walt Whitman*, ed. Malcolm Cowley, Deathbed Edition (New York, 1948), II, 333.

<sup>5</sup> *Complete Poetry and Selected Prose and Letters of Walt Whitman*, ed. Emory Holloway, Nonesuch Edition (London, 1938), p. 320.

<sup>6</sup> Deathbed Edition, II, 301.

<sup>7</sup> Gay Wilson Allen and Charles T. Davis, ed., *Walt Whitman's Poems* (New York, 1955), p. vii.

his poems.<sup>8</sup> Such bases are palpably invalid. Stedman, who was no Whitman-lover, early defined the most tenable position: Whitman is more admirable as poet than as annunciator; had he been no poet, no one would have cared for his philosophy and consecration; anyway, poets are rarer than preachers and heroes.<sup>9</sup>

This does not mean that the reader can ignore background as the first step toward appreciating "Passage to India." He must consider—as Edgar Lee Masters advised, though perhaps not as much as Masters did—the results of deflections from war, paralysis, neglect, and the lowered spiritual vitality of the postwar period.<sup>10</sup> From Frederik Schyberg he will learn that the period of this poem reflects a deeper religious note than that of 1860, when personal suffering inspired "the last dream-wish"; Schyberg attributes this note to Whitman's having heard during the war years "the great poetry of death."<sup>11</sup> Allen has added the useful commentary that the germ of internationalism here follows the financial disappointment of the first three editions of *Leaves of Grass*.<sup>12</sup>

Perhaps Whitman was exaggerating when in 1888 he declared that "Passage to India" contained more of himself than had any other poem.<sup>13</sup> Perhaps not. The fact that he printed it separately, however, and planned to make it a definite epoch in his poetic evolution—the end of the materialistic *Leaves*, the beginning of a new spiritual cycle<sup>14</sup>—is instructive, if not overwhelming. That it did not get into *Leaves of Grass* until 1881 suggests that he considered it a bold, separate declaration of his much-declared independence of spirit.<sup>15</sup> That he was fifty when he wrote it (in 1869)<sup>16</sup> has some bearing, if only to augment the midway philosophy of the poem, suspended between past and future. That it was three different poems rolled into one, yet essentially unified, provokes curiosity about Whitman's successful brooding process at this time.<sup>17</sup>

The main thing, however, is the poetry and the reader's involvement in the poetry. Poetry's foremost job is magic: making man see the fullness of his glory, whether or not he is ever destined to reach that fullness. The poet's business is to make him see; the reader's, to

<sup>8</sup> Some samples of these are as follows: Mark Van Doren, *The Private Reader* (New York, 1942), pp. 69-86; Leadie Mae Clark, *Walt Whitman's Concept of the American Common Man* (Urbana, 1952); Esther Shephard, *Walt Whitman's Pose* (New York, 1938); Harvey O'Higgins, "Alias Walt Whitman," *Harper's Magazine*, CLVIII (May, 1929), 698-707.

<sup>9</sup> Stedman, p. 353.

<sup>10</sup> Edgar Lee Masters, *Whitman* (New York, 1937), p. 308.

<sup>11</sup> Frederik Schyberg, *Walt Whitman*, trans. Evie Allison Allen (New York, 1951), pp. 230-31.

<sup>12</sup> Gay Wilson Allen, *Walt Whitman Handbook* (Chicago, 1946), p. 443.

<sup>13</sup> Horace Traubel, *With Walt Whitman in Camden*, I (Boston, 1906), 156-57.

<sup>14</sup> Nonesuch Edition, p. 1076. See also "Notes" to the 1876 Preface, on "Passage to India," Deathbed Edition, II, 291-94.

<sup>15</sup> Harold W. Blodgett, *The Best of Whitman* (New York, 1953), p. 458.

<sup>16</sup> Mentioned by Masters, p. 323.

<sup>17</sup> Nonesuch Edition, p. 1076.



try to see. Whitman said: "My book is written in the sun and with a gay heart."<sup>18</sup> One of his readers aptly adds that the poet's, not the analyst's, glance was poured upon his materials, and that this glance was "always one of intense enjoyment from complete vision of the essence and heart of a thing."<sup>19</sup> Another, speaking in similar vein, writes that Whitman's seemingly formless poetry is "the fierce, tenacious, patient, constructive work of a lifetime based upon a tremendous and overpowering Vision!"<sup>20</sup> Doubtless, Whitman's apparent lack of affectionate absorption in his own country has been due in part to the failure of readers and interpreters to be guided by such indispensable visions of the poet and to their preoccupation with the nonpoetic, the purely mental, the abstrusely philosophical, and the argumentative elements in his poems.

One assurance to the reader concerned about Whitman's personality is that in "Passage to India" the Whitman personality and the Whitman style are indivisible. As Hugh Fausset has said, "Whitman perhaps never came nearer the centre of things than in this [poem] or subdued to it better the expansive impulse of his ego."<sup>21</sup> The reader might well take the word of Robert Buchanan that Whitman's style is his greatest contribution to knowledge—close upon the arcana of perfect speech,<sup>22</sup> since hardly any poet has flung himself more, for better or for worse, into his way of expression, as contrasted with his pure ideation. That he has stylistically succeeded in "Passage to India" is attested by many distinguished critics. Schyberg, for example, speaking of its tone and feeling, refers to it as one of Whitman's "most melodic poems."<sup>23</sup> David Daiches, while conceding that "Passage to India" has a certain barbaric quality, calls it a good example of Whitman's favorite method of building up a series of opposites which it is part of the poem's function to reconcile: he thinks that this method creates excitement and that no Whitman poem better repays careful analysis of structure.<sup>24</sup>

The reader is now ready for the poem itself. He should be reminded that since every reader is unique, it follows that every good poem is at least as many poems as it has readers. Nevertheless, certain general principles prevail. Since readers change with age, and with intensified experience and insight, a poem is a new poem each time it is reread; or inversely, it is sometimes not the poem intended until it is reread. For example, Dr. R. M. Bucke, one of Whitman's greatest promoters, read him for eighteen years before making anything of

<sup>18</sup> Gamaliel Bradford, *Biography and the Human Heart* (Boston, 1932), p. 79.

<sup>19</sup> Roden B. Noel, *Essays on Poetry and Poets* (London, 1886), p. 306.

<sup>20</sup> Powys, p. 284.

<sup>21</sup> Hugh I'Anson Fausset, *Walt Whitman, Poet of Democracy* (London, 1942), p. 240.

<sup>22</sup> Robert Buchanan, *The Fleshly School of Poetry* (London 1872), p. 97.

<sup>23</sup> Schyberg, p. 124.

<sup>24</sup> David Daiches, "Walt Whitman: Impressionist Prophet," in Milton Hindus, ed., *Leaves of Grass One Hundred Years After* (Stanford, 1955), pp. 120-22.



him.<sup>25</sup> Ultimately, poetry is the expression of ideals, not just of one man but of a whole people, as Standish O'Grady says of Whitman and his America.<sup>26</sup> Remembering these things, the reader is not obligated to accept all suggestions; he is free to substitute inspirations of his own. Whitman demands things that way. Above all, he wants the reader as co-poet and co-pilot.

Mood and setting in "Passage to India" will absorb the reader first. In the opening section, he will notice three lines representing three great events that serve as the occasion for the poem:

In the Old World the east the Suez canal,  
The New by its mighty railroad spann'd,  
The seas inlaid with eloquent gentle wires. . . .<sup>27</sup>

Too often the mistake is made of thinking that Whitman is merely celebrating these events, merely pointing up significances and implications. He is doing much more than that. In the 1850's and the early 1860's he had begun to celebrate the laying of the Atlantic cable, both in newspaper editorials and in song.<sup>28</sup> In the New York papers during May and November, 1869, the reporters and editorial writers themselves had nearly equaled him in celebrating the joining of the Union Pacific and Central Pacific (at Promontory, Utah, May 10, 1869) and the opening of the Suez Canal (begun April, 1859; opened November 17, 1869).<sup>29</sup> One sample may be quoted for illustration and comparison.

This is the way to India, telegraphed the directors of the Pacific Railroad, yesterday, from the point where the last rail had just been laid. But, give us only a half century of peace and freedom; give us only the unshackled development of all our faculties and energies, for fifty years, and we shall not cry out, This is the way to India; we shall stick up on our shores the sign, *This is India*.<sup>30</sup>

But Whitman does not stop where the others stopped, with mere celebration. It is his purpose always to carry the reader, if the reader will go, into the depths of the creative process—like Shelley, into the very sinews of the wind. It is one thing to stand off and say how wonderful are these great feats of engineering. It is another and greater thing to inquire: where is the dynamo which creates them? how may we ourselves get inside that dynamo? what can we do from now on with such a dynamo at our command?

In the same way Whitman tries to build within the reader the deepest possible respect for the meaning of this new age of discovery and especially for this new faith in man's capacities and in man's ultimate

<sup>25</sup> Benjamin F. Mills, *Walt Whitman, The Man and His Message* (Cambridge, 1909), p. 10.

<sup>26</sup> Standish O'Grady, *Selected Essays and Passages* (Dublin, 1918), p. 275.

<sup>27</sup> Nonesuch Edition, p. 372.

<sup>28</sup> Walt Whitman, *I Sit and Look Out*, editorials from the Brooklyn Daily Times (New York, 1932), pp. 26, 39, 158-59. See also "Starting from Paumanok," Section 18, in Nonesuch Edition, p. 25.

<sup>29</sup> See respective issues of *Herald*, *Post*, and *Times* of New York City.

<sup>30</sup> *Evening Post* (New York), Tuesday, May 11, 1869, p. 2.

and endless fulfillment. In Henry S. Canby's report, "Passage to India" was written to spiritualize progress through glorifying the age of the machine and triumphant science;<sup>31</sup> and Allen reports that Whitman was ahead of other poets in giving expression to his own times.<sup>32</sup> He gains in value because to him the spirit of progress and man's faith are concrete, realizable things, standard equipment in man, not wishful thinking, not mystical in some far-off sense. As Emory Holloway puts it, Whitman's faith explains his confidence in himself and in the average man, and this confidence links him with the great lovers, prophets, and liberators of mankind.<sup>33</sup> One might add that an objector's lack of confidence would usually indicate an inability to discover within himself such a faith, although in Whitman's view it is certainly there to be found.

If this faith is sometimes described as an "undiscriminating hurrah for the universe"<sup>34</sup> or is devalued through such a declaration as "bawling out the rights of man is not singing,"<sup>35</sup> or if, in all truth, as one writer puts it, democratic faith is hard to keep in the light of the travail and disillusion in which the "bitch goddess success" has betrayed us,<sup>36</sup> the reader still need not stray from Whitman's purpose in his behalf.

In this effort he gets help from the poem's epic intent. The first words, "Singing my days," like the "I sing myself" of "Song of Myself," are as much the sign of the epic as "I sing of arms and the hero" or as "That man, oh goddess, sing." Gay Wilson Allen testifies that the poem reflects the history of the whole human race and quotes Whitman to the effect that its idea has lurked in his writings, "underneath every page, every line, everywhere."<sup>37</sup> According to David Daiches, Whitman's epic background comes from Homer himself. In this epic mood, Whitman sees the individual in large public context and more clearly that way.<sup>38</sup>

From mood and setting, the reader launches more securely into the content and ideas of the poem, emphasizing the imaginative flight of the poet, his soul, and the reader. William Clarke declares that Whitman flings ideas in a heap and leaves the reader to arrange them.<sup>39</sup> If this is sometimes true, it is equally true that providing such responsibility and opportunity for the reader is the usual method of

<sup>31</sup> Henry S. Canby, *Walt Whitman, An American* (Boston, 1943), p. 339.

<sup>32</sup> *Walt Whitman Handbook*, p. 196.

<sup>33</sup> Emory Holloway, *Whitman: An Interpretation in Narrative* (New York, 1926), p. 252.

<sup>34</sup> Jerome Nathanson, *Forerunners of Freedom* (Washington, 1941), p. 48.

<sup>35</sup> Robert Buchanan, *David Gray* (London, 1868), p. 218.

<sup>36</sup> Nathanson, p. 52. On this point of democracy as a political and an economic faith, Stovall says that Walt Whitman was the inveterate foe of economic privilege because men should not be politically free and otherwise enslaved. Floyd Stovall, *American Idealism* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1943), p. 93.

<sup>37</sup> *Walt Whitman Handbook*, pp. 196, 206.

<sup>38</sup> Daiches, p. 120.

<sup>39</sup> William Clarke, *Walt Whitman* (London, 1892), p. 50.

great poems. In "Passage to India," it is not so much the job of the reader to unscramble ideas; rather, he must pull out the stops in his mind to allow easy access to wide-awake and intelligent flight.

He will find himself in two principal flying areas: (1) the union of materialistic and spiritual fulfillment in the Whitman "I"; and (2) the Western Pinnacle idea, which describes man's relentless westward drive and his culmination in the American West. The first of these has three subdivisions: (a) that aspect in which the fulfilled individual accepts his place and inspired duty in a world of unfulfillment, partial fulfillment, and lack of faith; (b) the aspect in which the function of the singer-answerer-poet is fully understood; and (c) the aspect in which all man's creativity is traceable to one great motivating principle: man's insatiable curiosity. The first and second aspects are expanded throughout the poem; the third is centered in the famous Section 5, especially in the first two stanzas.<sup>40</sup>

Further, the reader cannot forget that the main business here is not to pursue the poet's logic but to enter the creative flight pattern and to know what is happening to him as he becomes a fully creative being. Briefly and roughly, awareness emerges through the realization of several electric truths. The world is doomed unless men fulfill themselves. Once fulfilled, the individual, fully empowered, proceeds to spread the contagion of fulfillment. Nothing that he does in this regard is of value until his truth and inspiration are captured and made known by a true poet. (Cf. the bird and the star in "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd.") Yet the poet's work is relatively easy and secure, since everywhere in man's universe, built into man himself, is this insatiable feeling which at its driving climax galvanizes man into endless endeavors, insuring progress, worthy of song.

This cycle of progress is always at work. One instance of it is the way in which, on our earth, civilization has steadily moved westward. This progress is not mere movement: it is also encirclement. As Holloway says, the encirclement of past and future is like that of the world in 1869.<sup>41</sup> Encirclement means two things: (1) a greater closeness of the world's peoples—reconciliation of the one and the many, of the mass and the individual, to be achieved on a level of common culture,<sup>42</sup> working always toward a common sharing of the creative product of each individual and group; and (2) a final democratic culmination in which the culture, supremely refined, will give rise to a supreme national character, embodying literature, art, statesmanship, and all other desirable things. Edward Dowden believes that such a culmination was Whitman's greatest passion and desire.<sup>43</sup>

Description of this national democratic utopia is everywhere in

<sup>40</sup> Nonesuch Edition, p. 375.

<sup>41</sup> Holloway, *Whitman*, p. 251.

<sup>42</sup> See also Nathanson, p. 69.

<sup>43</sup> Edward Dowden, *Studies in Literature, 1789-1877* (London, 1887), pp. 520-21.

Whitman's prose, especially during his final twenty years.<sup>44</sup> Often it partook of the qualities of the manifest destiny he preached in his early years<sup>45</sup> and of his arrogant—almost chauvinistic—nationalism.<sup>46</sup> It is the theme of the divine literatus of "Democratic Vistas."<sup>47</sup> With all his might Whitman yearned for it to show even the slightest sign of coming to pass. "Passage to India" is a monumental effort to inspire it in readers, not merely to describe it or to reiterate why it must some day come.

In some respects the climb to the Western Pinnacle is even more exciting than the pinnacle itself. For many years Whitman had been making the climb, not so much in talkative prose as in impassioned verse. Beginning about 1860 with such poems as "Starting from Paumanok" and "A Broadway Pageant," he worked the dream of man's glorious crown of life in the American West into many of his poems.

California was the logical center of the fulfillment. It was the end of the trail for the encirclement which had started in man's early dawn in the Pacific East. The Suez Canal symbolically represented the drive of civilization from the Pacific East to Europe; the Atlantic cable, from Europe to eastern America; and the transcontinental railroad, from eastern America to the Pacific, completing and crowning the cycle in California. In "Facing West from California's Shores" (1860), which Whitman placed in the Children of Adam series; in "A Promise to California" (1860), which he placed in the Calamus series; and on through to "Song of the Redwood Tree" and "Song of the Universal" (both 1874)—he carried the California paean, the most expansive and fulfilling of all his melodious themes. Offshoots of the theme are to be found in "By Blue Ontario's Shores," stemming from the "Poem of the Many in One" (1856), and in "Pioneers, O Pioneers" (1865).

California itself as a state or a place is not the basic consideration. Rather, it is the fact that Whitman wants his readers to know that God and Nature are cooperating to provide an actual earthly paradise where man will come of glorious age. Without such complete arrangements, the reader might be inclined to take the poems as a timeless dream. With these definite arrangements, the reader is impelled to join the author and his soul on a definite voyage, with definite ports of call, within man's reach, however distant to the feeble or ordinary imagination. Allen and Davis emphasize the use in this poem of the energetic verb, *sailing*, borrowed from "Song of the Open Road," to describe the mediating power of fancy.<sup>48</sup> They might have added that this word and others like it give the poem a compelling realism.

As the reader continues through "Passage to India," he is impressed

<sup>44</sup> See Deathbed Edition, II, *passim*. See also *Walt Whitman's Workshop*, ed. C. J. Furness (Cambridge, 1928), *passim*.

<sup>45</sup> Gay Wilson Allen, *The Solitary Singer* (New York, 1955), p. 266.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 181-83.

<sup>47</sup> See Deathbed Edition, II, 208-63.

<sup>48</sup> Allen and Davis, p. 14.

by the poetic possibilities of the role of the engineer. Engineer here includes architect, machinist, captain, explorer, scientist, and the like. Not so great as the poet, the engineer is still indispensable, since without deeds the poet would have little to sing about. He is the prime illustration and the earnest of man's insatiable curiosity and of his fulfillment. That Whitman was no fake dreamer, that he was a genuine realist in his dream, is attested by the marvelous record of engineers since his day.

Whitman's interest in science was more than casual. Joseph Beaver, in his well-documented book, repeatedly refers to the poet's knowledge of astronomy, geography, physics, and electricity, the scientific stuff of "Passage to India."<sup>49</sup> Beaver declares that Whitman not only believed in science, but went beyond science.<sup>50</sup>

In an illuminating essay entitled "Machinery, Magic, and Art," the late T. K. Whipple developed the poetic trend of the modern engineering sciences. On the theory that the arts should all be useful and that real poetry is powerful, Whipple demonstrates that the engineer has taken over the powerful functions abdicated by poets.<sup>51</sup> Here in this poem Whitman is saying that engineers and poets must work together, and that readers of poetry—in time, all the people—must become aware of the great spiritual significance of engineering monuments. In this way, man's evolution into perennially new and progressive cycles of creative expression and creative understanding will be assured.

The greatest engineer, because Whitman felt closest to him, was Christopher Columbus. As Schyberg has said, Columbus represents for Whitman, as later for Johannes V. Jensen, "the incarnation of all human yearning beyond the daily routine. . . ."<sup>52</sup> In Whitman's eyes, Columbus was both poet and engineer, since he dreamed of distant greatnesses, realized the significance of his dreams, and then went forth to make those dreams come true. Columbus' process was in line with divine plan and should be repeated in successive waves of human beings. To this end, "Passage to India" is a propaganda poem.

Moreover, Whitman felt himself a new Columbus, just as Milton felt himself a new Samson. Both he and Columbus were poets of man's extremest possibilities; both felt that man had endless worlds of development ahead of him (there is always another bright India to be discovered as soon as one India is settled); both were neglected and abused by the world which they served as benefactor; each went down broken into old age. In this vein "Prayer of Columbus" (1874) is a continuation but also a limitation of "Passage to India."<sup>53</sup>

If Columbus is the great inspiring figure of this poem, the soul is

<sup>49</sup> Joseph Beaver, *Walt Whitman, Poet of Science* (New York, 1951), esp. pp. 24, 45, 70, 75, 76, 84, 100, 163.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 130.

<sup>51</sup> See T. K. Whipple, *Study Out the Land* (Berkeley, 1943), pp. 1-18.

<sup>52</sup> Schyberg, p. 229.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 232.

the great promoter of accomplishment. The reader knows by now that he must be initially fulfilled, that he must develop his insatiable curiosity, and that he must move step by step up through new and ever-new ages of accomplishment. Now he will know how all this is to be done. As in many poems, Whitman's address to his soul is another way of saying: "All together now, let each man speak to his soul, and let us drive and sail and fly ahead. There is nothing to stop us, save our own weakness in poetizing and in fashioning our poetic dreams into steel-hard realities, like great singing cables, transcontinental railroads, and Suez Canals."

Twenty-seven times is the soul mentioned in "Passage to India." It sees; it sounds the cry of exaltation at what it sees; it reassures and listens to reassurances; it is unsatisfied; it is repressless; it is the adhesive companion; it is pleasing to its companion, the poet, and vice versa; it is the key to God; with the companion and God, it becomes an irresistible threesome; it is pensive. In the latter stages of the poem, it is the driving energy to the full benefits of the India and of the more than India. With the companion, it will risk the ship, the duo, and all. It will never stop sailing, for in whatever seas, it sails under the flag of its God. In this recklessness and risking, says Charles Fiedelson, the soul is like Captain Ahab, except that the poet and his soul do not believe in the possibility of wreck.<sup>54</sup>

The reader can now fully appreciate the scope and thrill of this poem. Any man who is aware of his soul's potential is aware of this dazzling array of endless realistic accomplishment. Not in some gossamer way is he aware: "the blood burns" in his veins; he grovels no longer; he no longer eats and drinks like a mere brute. He captures and annihilates aged fierce enigmas—like inveterate problems, diseases, and worries of the human race. One by one the social and political problems that interfere with his full democracy disappear.<sup>55</sup> And far in the evolutionary distance are positive victories which have not yet even come into perspective, beyond today's Indias—if only wings are plumed "for such far flights. . . ."

In addition to these realizations, the reader is further assured and invigorated by the appropriate music of the poem. He can believe the prophecy: it is reality itself. As Allen says, Whitman no longer questions; he affirms.<sup>56</sup> As Noel maintains, Whitman is more prophet than artist.<sup>57</sup> And as Daiches notes, Whitman carries a Bible accent on his prophecy.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>54</sup> Charles N. Fiedelson, *Symbolism and American Literature* (Chicago, 1953), p. 27.

<sup>55</sup> Whitman considered the development of the general population, not a select class, into a race of perfect men, women, and children, grandly developed in body, emotions, heroism, and intellect, more important than arts, literature, factories, architecture, ships, wharves, and bank-safes filled with coin or mints with bullion. *Walt Whitman Workshop*, p. 56.

<sup>56</sup> *Walt Whitman Handbook*, p. 198.

<sup>57</sup> Noel, p. 305.

<sup>58</sup> Daiches, p. 120.



There are two valid tests for the genuineness of "Passage to India." The first is to ask: looking backward, 1960 to 1869, has Whitman overstated the case? Has the dream of this poem come true under the hardest realistic scrutiny? The answer is certainly yes, and in most amazing particulars. The three great events which he memorialized in this poem—the three great monuments themselves—have more than realized the poetic potential he ascribed to them during a mere ninety years of development. And the prospect for the future of things corresponding to them (the more than India—things unseen when they were first sung) is greater than ever. Whitman thus opened the door not to mere celebration, but to cosmic awareness of progress and progressive reality.<sup>60</sup>

The second test is the analysis of Whitman's optimism. From all available evidence the same Whitman who conceived and wrote the caustic, devastating *Democratic Vistas* conceived and wrote what some call the ultra-optimistic "Passage to India." Out of his searing awareness of democracy's weakness and hypocrisy and incongruity and slow progress toward a great ideal, Whitman fashioned a poem which urged the reader not to lose his vision, but to continue to look at the sky, for he and the sky are real and belong together.<sup>61</sup>

One writer has said that Whitman was fighting the sweeping melancholy of his era.<sup>62</sup> Whether he was or not, it is important to note that "Passage to India" presents evidence to tone down Whitman's reputation as an unlimited and cockeyed optimist. Perhaps, psychologically, he was closer to pessimist, since, like Mark Twain, he seemed often to doubt man's ability ever to reach his potential; but, unlike Mark Twain, Whitman was determined to continue to beat against the door of the heart of mankind, demanding entrance for the faith that would glorify man if man would but open his heart.

An optimist would hardly need to convince himself by speaking over and over again such words of encouragement and reassurance to a failing partner in democratic idealism. In hundreds of poems and prose works Whitman showed that he knew the failings and the inherent dangers. But he never stopped warring against the doubt of democracy and the apathy.

"Passage to India" is an excellent poem for 1960 readers. First, it is a fine introduction to what is perhaps the most satisfying way to read Whitman, namely, to treat him not as an enthusiast of man's eternal glories, of indiscriminate love for all, or of undisciplined self-conceit, but as the promoter of hard work by skilled hands without which the divine dreams, which are the first stage in every man's

<sup>60</sup> Bliss Perry says of "Passage to India": "The burden of it is evolution—the one thing escaping the other—the unfolding of cosmic purposes." *Walt Whitman: His Life and Work* (Boston, 1906), p. 195.

<sup>61</sup> See Floyd Stovall, p. 93, where the idea is expressed that, if there were no evil overleaping the divine function of the spirit of freedom, there could be no good.

<sup>62</sup> O'Grady, p. 269.



transformation, remain unfulfilled. Second, it is a chart of man's evolutionary growth over several periods: before 1492, 1492 to 1869, 1869 to 1960, and 1960 on. More than a chart of progressive civilization, it indicates the motive power of progress, man's insatiable passion for the next higher stage, and the reasons for the illimitability of that power, the constant urging from God. Third, it predicts and explains today's restless activity—even the international competition—in atomic energy, in space probing and underseas investigations, in plans for interplanetary travel, in driving ever deeper into the wilds of men's hearts and minds, and in that inexhaustible parade of invention and discovery which the coming years envision. "Are they not all the seas of God?" asks Whitman, eliminating much of the surprise (but none of the excitement) from whatever great successful endeavor. Fourth, it provides comfort to those who must find answers to uncommonly knotty problems, such as East-West coöperation, the growing pains of maverick new nations, the inscrutability of mental disease, and the fathoming of a saving balance as the world teeters between its greatest prospect and utter destruction. Finally, at a time when the tide rises against the democratic faith more threateningly than ever, from without and from within, this poem demonstrates how these dangers can be assessed at their proper value, and how man and soul can idealistically and realistically rise above them.

### *Howard University*

## SHAKESPEARE'S *CONSOLATIO* FOR EXILE

By JOHN L. TISON, JR.

Exile by decree is a serious adversity in almost one-third of Shakespeare's plays. Some of the exiles are determined in a course of action or make their own consolations; some are in desperate need of the solace of a comforter and receive it; some are left comfortless. Since the drama which preceded Shakespeare passed on few examples and no formulas for using the *consolatio*, Shakespeare was free to choose the forms, ideas, and techniques which best served the individual situation of action and character. Yet the use of comfort for adversity was itself a tradition which had become a separate genre with conventions of form and matter. Ready at hand for easy borrowing was a large storehouse of popular and philosophical ideas and a codified system which determined the proper psychological approach. Did this literary genre serve, or restrict, the dramatic use of *consolatio* by Shakespeare? The purpose of this paper is to examine the exile scenes in Shakespeare's plays for ideas and techniques of consolation, and to show Shakespeare's art in adapting the matter, manner, and conventions of the tradition to the dramatic presentation of exile.

The attention which the Ancients paid to exile was sufficient to make of it a distinct species of consolation literature. The tendency of this literature was to develop ideas especially suited to individual adversities. But how could effective consolation be given the exile when he was undergoing such a multitude of ills—poverty, shame, separation from home and loved ones, the use of a strange language, and life in a hostile country? Since all of these evils came as a result of a single adversity—change of place—the philosophers evolved a consolatory doctrine to suit this adversity, and hence all the evils which accompany it: "Man is a citizen of the world, and the wise man can be happy anywhere." This doctrine was affirmed by Socrates and given heavy emphasis by the Stoics. It became the central philosophy of consolation for exile.

Of the early consolations for exile, Seneca's *Ad Helviam* is an excellent illustration of the type. In 41 B.C., we remember, Seneca was condemned on the improbable charge of adultery with Julia, sister of Caligula, and was sentenced to exile in Corsica. He is writing to his mother in the second year of his banishment. In his introduction, Seneca excuses his delay in writing on the grounds that early condolences only irritate grief. He notes the unusual circumstance of having searched the literature of comfort, but having found no precedent for one in his position acting the role of comforter. The fact that he can

be a comforter is his most effective solace. His purpose is to conquer grief, not merely to allay it. His method will be to show that his own condition is not wretched and that his mother's fortune is not painful.

Seneca prefaces his consolation proper with several precepts describing Fortune, whose gifts have no permanent value and whose assaults can be met by constancy of mind. He begins his main argument by definition: exile is a change of place. Then he enumerates the evils which accompany this change and supplies a solace to each. The exile is deprived of his country, but many tribes change place; nature has planted in us, like planets, a desire for change; we take with us our own virtue, and we find the same universal order of nature; a mean environment is not irksome when justice, temperance, wisdom, and a knowledge of God are present. Marcellus, happy in his liberal studies, is an example of one who endured exile nobly.

Change of place brings poverty, but the wants of the body are trifling, as proved by numerous examples from history. Still, how can the exile endure these combined evils? If he can cope with one, he can cope with all, for virtue makes the mind invulnerable from every quarter. Seneca now completes his argument by considering his mother's circumstances. She must show the courage of Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, or of Rutulia, who followed her son into exile. In his conclusion, Seneca re-emphasizes his own happiness. His circumstances are now best, for his mind has leisure for its own tasks—consideration of its own nature, the nature of the universe, and that of divine things.

The *Ad Helviam* shows the typical structure of the *consolatio*: an introduction naming the evil and stating the method of cure; a consolation proper concerned with the person afflicted and the cause of the affliction, consoling in argument developed through precepts and then by examples; and a conclusion emphasizing its main argument. Two elements are basic to the form: lament and consolation.<sup>1</sup> In spite of many similar features, the *consolatio* allowed a high degree of originality to the individual author. It is noteworthy that it is this flexibility which contributes so largely to the usefulness of the *consolatio* in drama.

The Christian *consolatio* brought a new tone: sentiment and feeling, sweetness and humanity.<sup>2</sup> It brought a new form with emphasis on the causes and cure of the adversity rather than on the individual circumstances; digressions were frequent, taking the nature of little sermons with numerous Biblical citations. Above all, it brought a new solace: comfort from consciousness of God's presence and knowledge of his divine grace, to be won by faith and works. This comfort was to be given to the righteous, sometimes to the repentant, but not to the unrepentant, unbaptized sinner.

<sup>1</sup> See J. Wright Duff, *Literary History of Rome in the Silver Age* (New York, 1927), p. 209, and Sister Mary Edmond Fern, *The Latin Consolatio as a Literary Type* (St. Louis, 1941).

<sup>2</sup> See Charles Favez, *La Consolation Latine Chrétienne* (Paris, 1937).

The Church Fathers, following their predecessors, categorized tribulation; they assigned consolations to physical and mental pain, spiritual dryness and despair, persecution in the propagation of doctrine, and death. But the consolations assigned were not purely Christian. The Fathers were living in a world dominated by Roman thought, and they professed a religion which also contained the philosophy of Plato and the Stoics and the morals of Judaism. It was natural, then, for the Christian literature of comfort to preserve the old at the same time that it was adding the new, reshaping within the limits of compatibility.

The idea of the universality of death was still a potent one; death was still to be prepared for, and when it came it freed man from evils. The comfort of pain was still the disciplinary value of suffering: "As gold is refined in the furnace, as grain is threshed on the floor, as the soldier is tried in battle." And the comfort for exile was still the doctrine of change of place. The Stoic emphasis on man's reason as his chief means to endure change of place remained the principal solace of Christian comfort for exile. Reason and faith walked side by side, but for exile, reason was dominant.

Yet in the world of Antiquity the most important single work and the most influential on later consolations was not the work of a Church Father. The name of Boethius has come to represent almost the whole tradition of consolation. The *De Consolatione* (ca. 523) set a pattern for the form and matter of later works. King Alfred, Chaucer, and Queen Elizabeth all paid homage to it through translation. The medieval *consolatio* followed the *De Consolatione* in the use of dialogue form, allegorical figures, and the prominence of fortune, fate, and free will in the arguments. For exile, reason remained sovereign over the passions.

The Renaissance had a rich heritage from the past, and it made good use of it. Classical authors were cited and translated and their thoughts transferred to numerous anthologies with sentences, examples, and similitudes. Side by side with this, the native stock grew. The number of comfort books published in Tudor England was large enough to make it one of the popular forms of literature of the day.<sup>3</sup> Many were handbooks in the *Ars Moriendi* tradition. Many were general consolations, comforting all men for all adversities. The authors and translators of comfort books include such prominent persons as Wyatt, Coverdale, More, Erasmus, Bradford, De Mornay, Luther, Lipsius, and Cardan. These men recognized the fact that they were writing in a tradition. The art of consolation they most admired was that of Plutarch, Cicero, Seneca, and Boethius. More's *Dialogue of Comforte* (1534), for example, follows the dialogue form of Boethius

<sup>3</sup> See A. D. Beach Langston, *Tudor Books of Consolation*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (University of North Carolina, 1940) for a summary of seventy-one books of this period. Also see Alice Harmon, "How Great Was Shakespeare's Debt to Montaigne?" *PMLA*, LVII (1942), 998-1008, for a partial list of Elizabethan anthologies and for pertinent discussion of the danger of assigning sources in this field.

and consoles with both Christian and philosophic ideas. Lipsius' *Two Books of Constancie* (1584; trans. 1595) is a study in Neo-Stoicism.

For exile, one of the most significant of the Renaissance consolations is Cardan's *Comforte* (1573), a general consolation addressed to all men. After a first book on the nature of adversity, grief, and consolation, Cardan devotes a book to death, and a third book to poverty and exile. To Cardan the evils of exile are largely imaginary. Many people spend much time in foreign countries and profit by their arts, their sciences, and the differences of men's wits. Cardan's central argument is familiar: the whole world is a wise man's country, and a wise man while he is in the world is never from his country. He supports this doctrine with numerous examples of men who were driven to exile or who banished themselves and endured it nobly.

Cardan now asks whether revenge is a course of action compatible with wisdom. Certainly the one who is the first to offend does the most evil, but he that seeks revenge deserves blame because the injury will of necessity follow. It is absurd to seek revenge when it involves danger, and it is ignoble to seek it when it does not. For injury, there are three remedies: revenge, forgetfulness, and disdain. The noblest of these is disdain. The wise man differs from the common man in obeying the divine precept, "Mihi vindictam et ego retribuam." The only pleasure of revenge comes when it is accompanied by magnanimity of the mind, and the true sign of this is forgiveness; Christ has taught us to turn the other cheek. Wrongs will be avenged by nature, by chance, or by God. So, "A child may act this way, but not a wise man. . . . There is no greater argument to felicity, no readier way to glory, no better mean to quiet, then to disdain injuries."<sup>4</sup>

While the main influence of philosophy was to consolatory ideas, that of rhetoric was to the psychology of comfort. Renaissance rhetoricians such as Erasmus, Peacham, Wilson, and Day defined the *consolatio*, gave examples of its use, and cautions for its application. The result was a codified system of comfort, based largely on Plutarch, Cicero, and Seneca.<sup>5</sup> There are three procedures. The first, for the most sensible sufferers, is the assurance that there is no cause to grieve. The second is for those recently afflicted, whose grief is severe: the comforter must admit just cause, and seek little by little to mitigate grief; he must declare that his own grief is great and that comfort is given for his own easing of pain. The third is for those who bottle up their grief: the comforter brings solace by praising them for courage and fortitude. This system was not so rigid, however, that its rules could not be abandoned when an approach proved ineffective. As Cicero warned, the purpose of consolation is to remove the sorrow of the sufferer, not his folly.

<sup>4</sup>Jerome Cardan, *Cardanus Comforte*, trans. Thomas Beddingfield (London, 1576), p. 86.

<sup>5</sup>See Benjamin Boyce, "The Stoic *Consolatio* and Shakespeare," *PMLA*, LXIV (1949), 771-80. Boyce tests *Much Ado*, *Hamlet*, *Othello*, and *Macbeth* on the basis of the codified system.

The rhetoricians also developed another convention of the tradition—the polite response. According to Angel Day's example in *The English Secretorie* (1586), the sufferer should acknowledge careful and discreet endeavors to administer to a diseased mind. He should thank the comforter for dealing with him as a faithful, courteous, and loving brother. The grief remains, but the comforter has so proved his sincerity by partaking of the grief that the sufferer will give himself to the practice of his wise counsels.

With this tradition of consolation in mind, let us turn now to exile in Shakespeare. Four elements are important structurally to the development of the exile scene: the decree, the reaction of the exile, the consolation of the comforter, and the response.

The decrees have three elements in common: a sentence, giving the duration of the exile and providing a geographic restriction; a period of grace, given or denied; and a penalty for failure to carry out these terms. The phraseology of the decrees is usually brief, formal, and legal. Some decrees require little dramatic development. When Fastolfe is banished in *1 Henry VI* (IV.i),<sup>6</sup> Talbot specifies his cowardly acts and contrasts his deeds with the valiant conduct expected of the Knights of the Garter. The King's decree biting bestows shame and removes knighthood. No comfort is offered, or expected, for Fastolfe. In *Richard II*, Bolingbroke's decree for the Bishop of Carlisle, though just as final, is completely different in spirit and tone:

Carlisle, this is your doom:  
Choose out some secret place, some reverend room,  
More than thou hast, and with it joy thy life.  
So, as thou liv'st in peace, die free from strife;  
For though mine enemy thou hast ever been,  
High sparks of honour in thee have I seen.  
(V.vi.24-29)

This speech is noteworthy in that it contains both sentence and comfort; its tone is not legal, but personal. It is an exile scene in itself. Much is achieved quickly in disposing of one character and providing illuminating characterization for another. From the ideas in the *consolatio* we are much more richly rewarded with the picture of a king than we are drawn to sympathy for an exile.

There are only a few examples in the plays of a *consolatio* in the classical rhetorical pattern, and of these, the speech of Proteus to Valentine in *Two Gentlemen of Verona* (III.i) is one of the best. A look at the circumstances will reveal why Shakespeare chose this place for its use. The Duke cleverly leads Valentine on to express his philosophy of love. Rising to the occasion, Valentine poses as an authority advising all men on the proper technique: "That man that hath a tongue, I say is no man / If with his tongue he cannot win a woman." He follows this with practical advice which proves his undoing, for

<sup>6</sup> Shakespeare quotations are from *Complete Works of Shakespeare*, ed. George Lyman Kittredge (Boston, 1936).



from it the Duke confirms his suspicions of the elopement plans. The Duke reveals his discovery and makes his decree of banishment in hyperbolic terms. Valentine has been a Phaëton whose folly would burn the world; hence, "Go, base intruder, overweening slave! / Bestow thy fawning smiles on equal mates. . . ." Valentine must leave "with swiftest expedition."

This decree is unexpected. Worst of all, for Valentine it is the result of failure in the very area in which he thought himself most secure and professional—love. His lament, like that of other lovers, is heavy. He begins with an exercise in logic based on separation of person rather than change of place: death is banishment from self; Silvia is his self; therefore, banishment from Silvia is death. He develops the picture of his grief with all the rhetorical flourish which he had previously recommended to the Duke. Enter here, appropriately, the comforter. The fact that it is Proteus is a wonderful piece of dramatic irony. Since he is the cause of the adversity, Proteus is immediately disqualified as a proper comforter in the eyes of the spectator. Yet Proteus exceeds all expectations. His technique is not simply to dissemble in bringing solace—it is to break all the rules of psychology, to disregard all the cautions of procedure.

Proteus begins properly enough with an apology for being the bearer of bad news; then he rubs the wound by describing in highly exaggerated terms the effects upon Silvia. To Valentine this is unbearable, and he begs Proteus to stop lest "the next word that thou speak'st / Have some malignant power upon my life." Proteus responds by rubbing the wound some more, this time with a formal *consolatio* which satisfies all the rhetorical rules for structure but violates all the codified rules for procedure:

Cease to lament for that thou canst not help,  
And study help for that which thou lament'st.  
Time is the nurse and breeder of all good.  
Here if thou stay, thou canst not see thy love;  
Besides, thy staying will abridge thy life.  
Hope is a lover's staff; walk hence with that  
And manage it against despairing thoughts.  
Thy letters may be here, though thou art hence,  
Which, being writ to me, shall be deliver'd  
Even in the milk-white bosom of thy love.  
The time now serves not to expostulate.  
Come, I'll convey thee through the city gate,  
And, ere I part with thee, confer at large  
Of all that may concern thy love affairs.  
As thou lov'st Silvia (though not for thyself),  
Regard thy danger, and along with me!

(III.i.241-56)

Here are all the parts of the traditional *consolatio*: the introduction naming the method of cure; the consolation proper developed by precepts followed by examples; the conclusion offering the personal aid of the comforter. But the cautions of Erasmus, Peacham, Wilson, and



Day are not here. Valentine's adversity is recent, and his grief is severe. Such a state calls for an approach which will distract the sufferer from his sorrows—the second procedure.

Instead of this, Proteus uses the comfort for easy cases. His method of cure sees no cause to lament; the proper procedure is to admit just cause. His first theme division in his argument is a precept on time; he destroys the solace of this with an example which stresses the evil of the situation. Then comes a precept on hope; the example applies this to the more serious state of despair. Proteus now anticipates some of the objections to the evil of separation by suggesting the possibility of letters; then he describes (still with active irony) the pleasure which he imagines and anticipates in their delivery. After a brief warning of inexpediency, Proteus concludes with a promise of personal aid; he follows this, climactically and triumphantly, with another warning which by its nature separates Silvia and Valentine. The irony is complete: an unqualified comforter has purposely brought inappropriate comfort. The result is one of the aims of romantic comedy—the intensification of the suffering of separated lovers.

For Shakespeare's young lovers, the chief evil of exile is personal separation. Posthumus and Imogen part with heavy laments, promises of fidelity, and hope of reunion. Valentine sees no relief for his absence from Silvia except to think that she is near and to "feed upon the shadows of perfection."

For the older lovers, exile brings adversities which are more than personal. Political and moral considerations are often basic to both lament and consolation. In *2 Henry VI* Eleanor taunts Gloucester for his failure to rescue her from her shame and for his inability to see the trickery of his enemies, but he responds to this with firm loyalty for the state and insistence on upholding the moral order. Still, for Eleanor, there is some comfort: "Thy greatest help is quiet, gentle Nell. / I pray thee sort thy heart to patience" (II.iv.67-68). It is cold comfort. Gloucester's personal grief is overshadowed by his patriotism, and his *consolatio* is subordinated to the larger moral and political lesson.

When Suffolk is banished for the murder of Gloucester, the political and moral lesson continues. The scene begins with Queen Margaret's curse of the King and husband who has banished her lover. Suffolk soon turns to the curse for his own psychological release, holding that he could "curse away a winter's night, / Though standing naked on a mountain top. . . ." As Margaret promises to have his sentence repealed, or follow him, Suffolk responds in a speech which adapts the change of place doctrine to the circumstances of the lovers. He creates an equation in which the lover is the world; happiness can therefore be found anywhere as long as the lover is present:

'Tis not the land I care for, wert thou thence.  
A wilderness is populous enough,  
So Suffolk had thy heavenly company;

For where thou art, there is the world itself  
 With every several pleasure in the world;  
 And where thou art not, desolation.  
 (2 Henry VI, III.ii.359-64)

Suffolk's express denial of any feeling for his country, his illicit relations with the Queen, and his exaggerated adaptation of the change of place doctrine to fit a queen with whom he has plotted against the state reveal a character for whom there can be no sympathy.

Queen Margaret and Suffolk have some mutual solace, but for King Richard's exiled Queen there is no comfort. The final act of *Richard II* opens with the deposed King on the way to the Tower. He describes himself as being "doubly divorc'd," but this is only a convenient image to depict his greater grief for the loss of the crown. The Queen's wish that they both be banished, or that she accompany him, is denied, even by Richard. Parting for Richard is quickly done, lest they "make woe wanton." There is no *consolatio*, and rightly so. Its absence contributes to the tragic picture of a king who is self-defeated.

In *As You Like It* the *consolatio* contributes to the pastoral pattern and the spirit of primitivism. Duke Senior's "Sweet are the uses of adversity" sounds the keynote for the reactions of the exiles and introduces us to the Forest of Arden. A mountainous country in Wales provides an equally noble life, free from the evils of court, for the banished Belarius in *Cymbeline*.

In view of the universal condemnation of revenge as a solace for adversity, this theme is one of the most interesting to consider dramatically. Shakespeare adheres closely to the tradition. To follow the growth of the revenge spirit in the exiles is not to be concerned with the philosophy of consolation. Shakespeare does not present this action with sympathy. The tradition is just as closely followed in the *consolatio*. No comforter offers the idea of revenge as a solace for exile.

There are other, more immediate comforts. In *Titus Andronicus* Titus responds to Lucius' banishment with a *consolatio* which pictures the evil of one world and implies the virtue of another:

O happy man! they have befriended thee.  
 Why, foolish Lucius, dost thou not perceive  
 That Rome is but a wilderness of tigers?  
 Tigers must prey, and Rome affords no prey  
 But me and mine. How happy art thou then  
 From these devourers to be banished!  
 (III.i.52-57)

The entrance of Marcus with the ravished Lavinia introduces only the first of the horrors which demand a dramatic action different from *consolatio*. Lucius leaves Rome with a promise to "make proud Saturnine and his emperess / Beg at the gates like Tarquin and his Queen."

In *Timon* there are two exiles, one by decree and one by choice. Alcibiades reacts to his decree of exile with a scathing curse of the

Athenian Senators who fail to recognize and reward his services. His statement of this lack is made in terms of the absence of comfort: "Is this the balsam that the usuring Senate / Pours into captains' wounds?" (III.v.110-11). Like Lucius, he welcomes exile as a means of striking back at Athens. Alcibiades has no comforter. Timon, a voluntary exile, also leaves Athens with a scathing curse. Timon "will to the woods, where he shall find / Th' unkindest beast more kinder than mankind" (IV.i.35-36). This back to nature theme is not pursued. Nor does Timon need a comforter, for in the consolation tradition voluntary adversities require none. As More puts it in his *Comforte*:

such affliction of the flesh or expence of his goodes as a man taketh hymselfe, or willinglye bestoweth in punishmente of his own sinne, and for deuocion to god . . . nedeth he no manne to coumforte him . . . wherein if any doubt be aryse, counsayle nedeth and not comfort. (Book Two, Chapter Four)<sup>7</sup>

Coriolanus does not bottle up his grief when he is banished

In peril of precipitation  
From off the Rock Tarpeian, never more  
To enter our Rome gates.

(III.iii.102-104)

His reaction is a strong curse, prefaced by a reversal of the decree: "You common cry of curs . . . I banish you!" He concludes with the simplest statement of the change of place doctrine: "There is a world elsewhere." The tribune Sicinius urges the people to follow Coriolanus to the city's gates: "As he hath follow'd you, with all despite; / Give him deserv'd vexation."

In contrast to this violence, the scene in which Coriolanus takes leave of his family and friends is full of tender sentiments and Stoic fortitude. The basic situation, the ideas of comfort, and the general tone of consolation are all highly reminiscent of Seneca's *Ad Helviam*. Here is the exiled son, the sufferer, acting as the comforter of his mother, wife, and friends. Their best comfort is surely the courage which he himself shows in parting. Coriolanus begins with a gentle rebuke of his mother for her tears, an idea basic to the Stoic doctrine of apathy. Like Seneca, he turns his mother's thoughts to herself, recalling her own precepts:

Nay, mother,  
Where is your ancient courage? You were us'd  
To say extremity was the trier of spirits;  
That common chances common men could bear;  
That when the sea was calm, all boats alike  
Show'd mastership in floating; fortune's blows  
When most struck home, being gentle wounded craves  
A noble cunning. You were us'd to load me  
With precepts that would make invincible  
The heart that conn'd them.

(IV.i.2-11)

<sup>7</sup> Sir Thomas More, *Utopia and A Dialogue of Comfort*, Everyman edition (London and New York, 1946).

Here is the Stoic insistence that courage is the only virtue which makes man independent of what Fortune gives or takes away. The image of Fortune in these lines is important and has had many interpretations. Coriolanus may be saying, as Seneca to Helvia:

Of all the wounds that have ever gone into your body, this latest one, I admit, is the most serious; it has not merely torn the outer skin, but pierced your very breast and vitals. But just as raw recruits cry out even when they are slightly wounded [cf. gentle], and shudder more at the hands of surgeons than they do at the sword, while veterans, though deeply wounded [cf. most struck], submit patiently and without a groan to the cleansing of their festered bodies just as if these were not their own, so now you ought to offer yourself bravely to be healed. (*Ad Helviam*, 3.1)<sup>8</sup>

Instead of accepting this consolation, Volumnia responds with a curse of Rome. To prevent further outbursts, Coriolanus turns attention to his continuing love, and calls on her to resume her ancient courage, the spirit of a former boast that as the wife of Hercules she would have done six of his labors. He calls on Menenius and Cominius to set an example for these foolish women. He concludes with an emphasis on his own welfare and a promise to return to greatness. Again, in the spirit of Seneca:

But away with lamentations and outcries. . . In a heroic spirit have I done this; for I have determined to conquer your grief, not to dupe it. And so I shall conquer it, I think, if, in the first place, I show that there is nothing in my condition that could cause anyone to call me wretched, still less cause those also to whom I am related to be wretched on my account. . . (*Ad Helviam*, 3.2-4.1)

There is a fine humanity in this scene which makes it worthwhile for its own sake. Certainly, though, the scene exists for more than comfort. It exists for a revelation of character which is part of the tragic crisis. The basis of this character is the Stoic virtue of fortitude. The play may be said to be a study of this virtue. As a military man, Coriolanus has performed courageous deeds which have saved the state (Act I). But these fighting qualities are the least significant quality for this Stoic virtue. Fortitude finds its highest embodiment in the statesman who labors for the good of the state, who forgets private good. To this office, Coriolanus has aspired, but failed (Act II). He humbles himself, tries again, fails, and is exiled (Act III). Yet he retains his personal fortitude and reveals it in comforting his family and friends; the comfort that he offers them is this same virtue. This is part of the picture of a man. The other part is revealed by Brutus: Coriolanus was

A worthy officer i' th' war, but insolent,  
O'ercome with pride, ambitious past all thinking,  
Self-loving. . . (IV.vi.30-32)

These are the very vices which in Stoic philosophy most often accompany fortitude, and which give rise to acts of injustice.

<sup>8</sup> Seneca, *Moral Essays*, trans. John W. Basore, Loeb Classical Library (London, 1932), II, 423.

True Stoic fortitude must be associated with the other virtues, if it is not to become a vice. Coriolanus goes to Aufidius "in mere spite, / To be full quit of those my banishers. . . ." He returns with the enemy's army to fight "Against my cank' red country with the spleen / Of all the under fiends" (IV.v). The Stoic virtues and vices are now clear, and the nature of the crisis is also clear: wisdom, justice, fortitude, and temperance must be subordinated by the individual to the welfare of the whole. Coriolanus cannot succeed in his revenge without destroying both the state and his own nobility. At the climactic moment, Volumnia is there to remind him that if he conquers Rome, the chronicler will write:

"The man was noble,  
But with his last attempt he wip'd it out,  
Destroy'd his country, and his name remains  
To th' ensuing age abhorr'd."

(V.iii.145-48)

This is the tragic climax, and Coriolanus remains noble. Act V is perfect fortitude. In this there is a victory and a loss, and Coriolanus speaks out with a passion which recognizes the approaching personal catastrophe:

O my mother, mother! O!  
You have won a happy victory to Rome;  
But for your son—believe it, O believe it!—  
Most dangerously you have with him prevail'd,  
If not most mortal to him. But let it come.

(V.iii.185-89)

This is the martyrdom of a Lear who makes such a sacrifice for his own flesh and blood that "the gods themselves throw incense."

In *Richard II* the decree of exile, the lament of the sufferer, and the ideas of consolation are all expressed in terms of change of place. Most suitably, the evils of change of place and the consolations for these evils are adapted to develop the theme of patriotism and the spirit of nationalism which are important parts of the history plays. The scene begins as Richard interrupts the trial by combat to sentence both Bolingbroke and Mowbray to exile, prefacing his sentence with a speech showing the necessity of preserving the country's peace. Richard's first decree is for Bolingbroke:

You, cousin Hereford, upon pain of life,  
Till twice five summers have enrich'd our fields  
Shall not regret our fair dominions  
But tread the stranger paths of banishment.

(I.iii.140-43)

The emphasis is at once on the contrast between the worth of English soil, fair and growing more rich with time, and the "stranger paths of banishment," paths unfamiliar, alien, and hostile. Bolingbroke responds quickly to this with acceptance:

That sun that warms you here shall shine on me,  
And those his golden beams to you here lent  
Shall point on me and gild my banishment.

(l.iii.145-47)

This is the idea and these are the images of the doctrine of change of place. But for Bolingbroke this is not consolation. It is a polite speech of acquiescence, made to suit the ceremoniousness of the occasion.

Richard's sentence for Mowbray, the dateless limit of "never to return," is too heavy a sentence for another polite reply. Mowbray's lament is a spontaneous outburst which gives a concrete picture of a major evil: he must forego his own language, and this in turn will lead to dull, unfeeling, barren ignorance.<sup>9</sup> To the King, this is an ill-mannered reply. Mowbray leaves, refusing to confess treason and expressing again his sorrow at enforced absence from his homeland: "Save back to England, all the world's my way."

When the King leaves, Bolingbroke is alone with Gaunt; he is now free to express his true feelings and to receive comfort from a father who is also grieved. Gaunt begins with a reproof of Bolingbroke's rudeness to his friends in parting, his "hoarding of words." This should be a sure sign to Gaunt that Bolingbroke is bottling up his grief and the proper comfort would be to praise him for his courage. Instead, Gaunt chooses to present comfort for easy cases, holding that there is no cause to grieve. What follows, then, is a debate scene, in stichomythia. Gaunt pictures a short absence—Bolingbroke, increasing grief; Gaunt, a travel for pleasure—Bolingbroke, an enforced pilgrimage; Gaunt, a precious return—Bolingbroke, a journeyman to grief. To combat this opposition to ideas, Gaunt now restates his solace in a formal *consolatio*:

All places that the eye of heaven visits  
Are to a wise man ports and happy havens.  
Teach thy necessity to reason thus:  
There is no virtue like necessity.  
Think not the King did banish thee,  
But thou the King. Woe doth the heavier sit  
Where it perceives it is but faintly borne.  
Go, say I sent thee forth to purchase honour,  
And not, the King exil'd thee; or suppose  
Devouring pestilence hangs in our air  
And thou art flying to a fresher clime.  
Look, what thy soul holds dear, imagine it  
To lie that way thou goest, not whence thou com'st.  
Suppose the singing birds musicians,  
The grass whereon thou tread'st the presence strow'd,  
The flowers fair ladies, and thy steps no more  
Than a delightful measure or a dance;

<sup>9</sup> R. F. Hill, in "Shakespeare's Early Tragic Mode," *SQ*, IX (1958), 459, remarks that the measure of Mowbray's passion is to be seen in the quantity and intricacy of his rhetoric. Since difference of language is high on the list of the evils of exile, the subject of the lament seems to be another measure of his passion.



For gnarling sorrow hath less power to bite  
The man that mocks at it and sets it light.

(I.iii.275-93)

Gaunt has taken as his method of cure the central doctrine of the change of place philosophy—the wise man can be happy anywhere. To confirm his premise, Gaunt now divides his argument into two parts: first, the definition of the wise man; and second, a description of the other world of exile in which the wise man must live. Through proverbs, Gaunt defines the wise man as one who recognizes necessity and reacts to adversity with courage. Then, through a series of precepts, he describes the place of exile, a place created by reason, as one of honor, health, happiness, pleasure, nobility, and diversion. He concludes with a reiteration of the proverb defining the wise man as one who has the power to repel sorrow.

Gaunt has created a Stoic world. He begins with the highest good, that which is honorable. Then he moves to the class of *indifferentia*, naming things which are "preferred"—"what thy soul holds dear"—and things "unpreferred," such as health and fame. Gaunt is saying, as Lipsius said with Seneca:

Everything, if you add virtue, assumes a glory which it did not possess before. We speak of a sunny room, even though the same room is dark at night. It is the day which fills it with light, and the night which steals the light away; thus it is with the thing which we [as Stoics] call indifferent, like riches, strength, titles, etc., and their opposites, death, exile, ill health, pain, etc.; it is the wickedness or the virtue which bestows the name of good or evil.<sup>10</sup>

Here is Stoic reason, by which man lives in accordance with nature; here is Stoic will, by which he meets things beyond his power with fortitude. Here, too, in the tradition of Seneca, Epictetus, Lipsius, and Cardan, is the Stoic maxim that man is but his mind and that the only evils of life exist in the imagination. The chief rhetorical figure used to develop these ideas in the *consolatio* is *evidentia*, a vivid picture of an imagined scene. To Bolingbroke, this philosophy of imagination is self-deceptive, and he denies it in the well-known speech which begins, "O, who can hold a fire in his hand / By thinking on the frosty Caucasus?" (I.iii.294-95).

Bolingbroke's denial of Gaunt's consolation is only a prelude, however, to a statement of his own philosophy: "Where'er I wander, boast of this I can, / Though banish'd, yet a trueborn Englishman." Later, as Bolingbroke returns from exile, this philosophy is reinforced. He describes himself as an injured prince who sighed his "English breath in foreign clouds, / Eating the bitter bread of banishment" (III.i.20-21). There is now a powerful dramatic impact in the choice that must be made between a sentimental, self-defeatist king, ruling by divine right, and the strong-willed patriot who is needed by

<sup>10</sup> Justus Lipsius, *Manuductio*, ii.24 (IV, 744), as quoted by Jason Lewis Saunders, *Justus Lipsius: The Philosophy of Renaissance Stoicism* (New York, 1955), p. 110.



his country, but whose deposition of this king would be treasonous. One dramatic function of the exile scene is a preparation for this choice. Richard's decree, Mowbray's lament, Gaunt's consolation, and Bolingbroke's response—all depict a courtly spirit which is only one expression of the picture of England, *Res publica*, which is one of Shakespeare's main concerns in the history plays.

Romeo is the last of our exiles, and purposely, for his case is by far the most difficult for a comforter. As the only one of the exiles to become desperate, he presents a challenging problem to Friar Laurence. The Friar's exordium does not follow the usual rule of apology for being the bearer of bad news. "Affliction is enamour'd of thy parts, / And thou art wedded to calamity" (III.iii). This sets the mood for Romeo's reaction to adversity—he expects it to be Doomsday itself. Even though the Friar lessens his description of the decree to a "gentler judgment," Romeo reverses the evils of death and exile, making exile the greater. The Friar meets this severe reaction with the traditional doctrine: "Be patient, for the world is broad and wide." Romeo denies this doctrine. Like Valentine, he makes his denial through an exercise in logic, equating Juliet with heaven: Verona is heaven because Juliet is here, and conversely, "There is no world without Verona walls, / But purgatory, torture, hell itself."

The Friar now turns to another tack, the offer to remove the evil with "Adversity's sweet milk, philosophy." Romeo's state is too extreme for this. As Peacham warns in *The Garden of Eloquence*, consolation must not be weak by having its foundation only in philosophy and human wisdom, for these often increase sorrow rather than diminish it. Romeo's denial of philosophy is to be expected, and he makes it in a tone of revolt and growing despair:

Hang up philosophy!  
Unless philosophy can make a Juliet,  
Displant a town, reverse a prince's doom,  
It helps not, it prevails not. Talk no more.  
(III.iii.57-60)

"Talk no more"—this is another cue. But unlike Job's comforters, who for a time wisely remain silent, the Friar is determined to dispute with Romeo of his estate. Until now, Romeo has denied only the Friar's ideas of solace. He responds to the Friar's persistence with a violent attack on his personal qualifications as a comforter. He is on solid ground. The Friar lacks the most essential quality of a comforter: personal experience of the adversity.

The news of Juliet's pitiful condition, related by the Nurse, brings Romeo to a state of complete despair. The Friar must now be more than philosophical. It is his duty as a comforter to recognize the danger; it is his privilege as a comforter to depart from codified procedures, to use any and all methods that may prove effective. To stop Romeo's desperate hand, the Friar delivers a harsh psychological blow—the charge that Romeo is unmanly and beastly. This reproof

returns Romeo to reality, and he resigns himself to listen to comfort.

The comfort the Friar now offers is not new, but his approach in presenting it is directly opposite to his early attempts. In his exordium, he had pictured Romeo as "wedded to calamity." Now, however, "Happiness courts thee in her best array." The Friar has returned to one of the chief themes of philosophy and deliberative oratory—the nature of happiness and the means to its end. This is surprisingly far from the Christian comfort which the Friar might well be expected to deliver. More than that, in the art of procedure it is highly inappropriate. Romeo is desperate, and the Friar is offering consolation for easy cases—the idea that there is no cause to grieve. Yet the nature of the argument used by the Friar to develop this theme makes it effective comfort. He develops his abstract and general theme of happiness by argument drawn from the individual circumstances: Juliet is alive, Romeo has escaped Tybalt and is alive, and the law has been merciful. This consolation is real and personal. It is also successful, and success is the final test of a good comforter.

In his conclusion, the Friar continues his theme of happiness, turning from an analysis of the present to the means for the future. Lest Romeo dispute this idea or reject him personally, the Friar follows the standard advice of the comfort books: he gives Romeo an immediate course of action, to go to Juliet and comfort her. His plans for future help include his own aid in securing pardon for Romeo and calling him back with "twenty hundred thousand times more joy. . . ."

In few comfort scenes is a desperate character so comforted. In few scenes does a comforter who begins so miserably finally succeed. The Nurse's remarks on the professional nature of this comfort must be taken, in part, seriously. Of the art of *consolatio* the Nurse might have added with Peacham:

The use of this figure is great, and most necessarily required in this vale of misery, where mens harts are often fainting, and their mindes falling into despaire, for so great are mens losses in this fraile life and so little is their fortitude to beare them, that they fall downe in their weaknesse lying still opprest under their heavy burthen, neuer able to rise againe, without the strength of comfort and consolation: for so great is the infirmitee and frailty of man being left alone to himselfe in affliction and misery, that he is compared to the waxe that melteth at the heate of the fire and to the smok that is driuen away with the power of the wind. Against this weaknesse, consolation ministreth strength and restoreth men to life and ioy, that were dying in misery and sorrow.<sup>11</sup>

Romeo is so restored.

To the exiles in Shakespeare, two evils are paramount: separation from loved ones and separation from the homeland. The solace of Shakespeare's comforters is principally that of the consolation tradition, especially the doctrine of change of place and the philosophy of

<sup>11</sup> Henry Peacham, *Garden of Eloquence* (1593), facsimile reproduction with introduction by William G. Crane, *Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints* (Gainesville, 1954), pp. 100-101.

Stoicism. To the tradition, Shakespeare adds the virtue of patriotism. Shakespeare uses the form of the *consolatio*, its conventions, and its codified system for a variety of dramatic effects. He follows, or breaks, the conventions in order to console, to create dramatic irony, or to intensify the suffering. Dramatic action, character, and theme are always dominating forces in the exile scenes, but Shakespeare has handled the matter and manner of the consolation genre so artistically that it has become, by nature, drama.

*University of Georgia*

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## RILKE'S LOVE POEMS TO LOU ANDREAS-SALOMÉ

By H. F. PETERS

In view of Rilke's well-known and amply documented admiration for Lou Andreas-Salomé (whose influence on his life and work can hardly be exaggerated), the publication in 1959 of the third volume of Rilke's *Sämtliche Werke* is of considerable interest, for it contains *inter alia* the hitherto unpublished book of poems *Dir Zur Feier* which Rilke addressed to Lou. The existence of these poems had been mentioned by Ernst Pfeiffer, the editor of Lou's literary estate, in the notes appended to the correspondence between Rilke and Lou Andreas-Salomé, published in 1952: "Rilke hatte seine in München, Wolfratshausen, Wilmersdorf und Florenz an Lou A.-S. gerichteten Gedichte handschriftlich in einem Buch mit dem Titel 'Dir zur Feier' (Gegenstück zu 'Mir zur Feier', das 1899 in Berlin erschien) zusammengefasst."<sup>1</sup>

Pfeiffer added that, of the at least eighty-nine poems originally contained in the manuscript, almost half had been lost in consequence of the joint decision of Rilke and Lou to destroy all documents of their love. In her autobiographical *Lebensrückblick*, Lou herself had referred to the destruction of Rilke poems, saying that "the prevailing and unalterable conditions of their lives" (an allusion to her marriage to Andreas) had been the principal factor in their decision. In retrospect, however, she questioned the wisdom of their action: "Aber ob wir das Recht hatten, damals Gedichtetes so zu zerstören, wie wir es getan?"<sup>2</sup> Apparently she did not know that many of these "destroyed" poems were preserved in Rilke's notebooks for the years 1897-1898, although probably not in the final form in which they appeared in *Dir Zur Feier* (now included in *Sämtliche Werke*, III). It is therefore possible to search for the reasons behind their exclusion from the manuscript, though this is admittedly not an easy task. Indeed, Dr. Zinn, the editor of *Sämtliche Werke*, says that "Ein Überblick über das gesamte Material lehrt, dass Gründe für die Aufbewahrung oder Ausmerzung der Gedichte im einzelnen nicht mehr zu erkennen sind."<sup>3</sup>

What then does Pfeiffer mean (who here, as so often, echoes Lou) when he says that some of these poems were eliminated because they were love poems? All poems in *Dir Zur Feier* are love poems, and if

<sup>1</sup> Rainer Maria Rilke—Lou Andreas-Salomé, *Briefwechsel* (Zürich und Wiesbaden, 1952), p. 517.

<sup>2</sup> Lou Andreas-Salomé, *Lebensrückblick* (Zürich und Wiesbaden, 1951), p. 174. Subsequent references to the *Lebensrückblick* will be to this edition.

<sup>3</sup> Rainer Maria Rilke, *Sämtliche Werke*, III (Wiesbaden, 1959), p. 792. Subsequent references to *Dir Zur Feier* will be to this edition.

that had been the principal reason, they should all have been destroyed. On the other hand, the love motif in most of them has undergone such a poetic transformation that the purely personal elements have almost disappeared and the fear of detection would seem unwarranted. In her *Lebensrückblick* Lou mentions that she did not understand Rilke's youthful poetry. She admits that the exalted lyrical adoration with which the young poet pursued her displeased her, and she hints at black-inked corrections, jointly undertaken, which resulted in the mutilation and destruction of many poems. She then quotes a fragment that had somehow survived (still in the original and by now faded envelop in which Rilke had sent it to her):

Dann brachte mir Dein Brief den sanften Segen,  
ich wusste, dass es keine Ferne gibt:  
Aus allem Schönen gehst Du mir entgegen,  
mein Frühlingswind Du, Du mein Sommerregen,  
Du meine Juninacht mit tausend Wegen,  
auf denen kein Geweihter schritt vor mir:  
ich bin in Dir! (p. 176)

This poem apparently was never included in *Dir Zur Feier*, although it was undoubtedly written during the same period in 1897-1898 when Rilke wrote most of the poems he did include. Why was it omitted? Two possible answers suggest themselves immediately: (1) the poem did not measure up to the standard of excellence which Rilke, with Lou's encouragement, tried to attain; and (2) it was too personal and referred to matters that had to be kept secret. The question of the poetic quality of these poems will be discussed below. Here I merely want to quote by way of comparison the second verse of a poem that was included in *Dir Zur Feier*:

Und dann spricht Lou. Und es verneigen  
sich unsre Seelen. Auch der Strauss  
am Fenster grüsst aus hohen Zweigen  
und wir sind alle heimateigen  
in diesem leisen weissen Haus.  
(p. 178)

I suggest that it would be difficult to make a case, aesthetically speaking, for the inclusion of one of these poems and the exclusion of the other. And as for the personal elements, they seem more pronounced in the second poem, which mentions Lou by name, than in the first. But different conclusions can be drawn if we apply to the first poem the biographical facts—now gradually emerging—concerning the relationship between Rilke and Lou.

We know that when Rilke wrote these poems he was so deeply in love with Lou that he could hardly bear to be separated from her. Periods of separation were unavoidable, however, because Lou could not subordinate her life completely to Rilke's, as he wanted her to. For one thing, that would have been against her nature. She could remain faithful only to memories, not to men. For another, since she

was married, albeit in name only, Lou had to keep up appearances. But whenever she left Rilke during these first months, even if only for a few days, he bombarded her with poetic protestations of his love. She probably replied sparingly, but when she did, he was overjoyed.

This mood is reflected in the first poem. Her letter, he tells her, had come as a gentle blessing assuring him that nothing, no distance, no remoteness, would ever stand between them. To him she was beauty incarnate. This not very original expression of a lover's sentiments is followed by a rhapsodic revocation of the passionate hours they had spent together. They had met in May, hence the allusion to "spring wind," had become lovers in June—"my June night"—and had spent the summer months in close proximity in the little upper Bavarian village of Wolfratshausen.

All these events are faithfully recorded in the poem. Only the penultimate line presents a difficulty. What does Rilke mean when he says that "no uninitiated had walked before him" on those love paths in June? Is this an oblique reference to the fact that he was Lou's first lover? In her *Lebensrückblick* Lou has lifted the veil from the mystery that had surrounded her marriage to Andreas by saying that it was never consummated. She intimates that, although she was fifteen years older than Rilke, he was the first man in her life. Assuming this to be true (and my biographical researches into the life of this fascinating woman have convinced me that it probably was), it was obviously such a delicate and personal matter that it had to be kept secret at all costs, at least as long as Andreas was alive. The latter's reaction to the knowledge that his wife had given Rilke what she had denied him can easily be imagined. Lou may, therefore, have felt that any allusion to it, no matter how oblique, must be eliminated. This may also be the reason for the elimination of the poem "Er mochte noch nicht landen," originally included as No. 63 in *Dir Zur Feier*; the second verse reads:

Sie reichte ihre Hände  
dem Fremden dann zum Schwesternschwur  
und teilte mit dem Gatten nur  
das Wasser und die Wände. (p. 588)

But if fear of detection of their love was one reason for the elimination of certain poems, it was certainly not the only one. Some may have been eliminated because they reflected Rilke's "pre-Wolfratshausen" mood, i.e., that sudden change from exaltation to dejection which Lou found so trying. This may account for the omission of poem No. 15, which reads in the original version:

Ich bin so müde. Vor meinen Tagen  
zieh'n keine singenden Wünsche mehr.  
Einmal hab ich einen Kranz getragen,  
aber er welkte und wurde schwer.

Aus meinen Haaren wehte der falbe  
Frühherbst vor meinen blutenden Schritt.



Nimm Güte in deine Hände und salbe  
meine entkränzte Stirne damit. (p. 578)

It must be remembered that Lou had a very happy temperament and was, as she put it, "at home in joy." Her reaction to a poem that exudes world weariness and employs such standard poetic devices as "a withered wreath," an "uncrowned forehead," a "pale early autumn" in conjunction with the striking image "my bleeding step," probably did not encourage Rilke to include this poem in the final version of the manuscript. Similar objections may account for the omission of three other poems: No. 54, "Wie mich deine Stille stärkte" (p. 584); No. 60, "Ich weiss es erst in diesen Tagen" (p. 587); and No. 66, "Mir war als Kind so oft vor Etwas bang" (p. 590). The tenor of these poems is sufficiently different from that of most of those included in *Dir Zur Feier* that Rilke may have felt they did not really belong in the collection, and hence he omitted them, although one hesitates to say so categorically.

By way of comparison, however, consider the following poem which appears as No. 16 in *Dir Zur Feier*:

Das Land ist licht und dunkel ist die Laube,  
und du sprichst leise und ein Wunder naht.  
Und jedes deiner Worte stellt mein Glaube  
als Betbild auf an meinen stillen Pfad.

Ich liebe dich. Du liegst im Gartenstuhle,  
und deine Hände schlafen weiss im Schooss.  
Mein Leben ruht wie eine Silberspule  
in ihrer Macht. Lös meinen Faden los. (p. 177)

The first impression of this poem is its concreteness. It avoids the vague generalizations, the mood of floating between day and dream, so characteristic of Rilke's early verses. Boldly it comes to grips with the love theme, first by setting the scene: "Land und Laube," an allusion to the famous arbor at Wolfratshausen where Rilke and Lou spent the first summer of their love and where many of these poems were written. Lou is speaking. We get an idea of how intently Rilke listened from the image "Betbild" to which he likens her words, thereby elevating his love to the level of religious adoration. But this feeling is immediately brought down to earth again by the simple—in this context particularly moving—statement: "Ich liebe dich." With it the poem again returns to a concrete image: Lou sitting in a garden chair, her hands folded in her lap. As he watches her, the poet realizes that he is completely in her power. She holds the thread of his life in her hands. The image is completed with the gentle request, stated with the utmost verbal economy, to untangle his life and set him free: "Lös meinen Faden los."

Rilke has on many occasions told how much Lou's love meant to him, but perhaps never more movingly than in the letter he wrote her from Rome in November, 1903, when, after a break of more than two years, they again began to correspond:



Du warst alles Zweifels Gegenteil und ein Zeugnis warst Du mir dessen dass alles ist was Du berührst, erreichst und schaut. Die Welt verlor das Wolkige für mich, dieses fließende Sich-Formen und Sich-Aufgeben, das meiner ersten Verse Art und Armuth war; Dinge wurden, Thiere, die man unterschied, Blumen, die waren; ich lernte eine Einfachheit, lernte langsam und schwer wie schlicht alles ist, und wurde reif von Schlichtem zu sagen.

Und das alles geschah, weil ich Dir begegnen durfte, damals als ich zum ersten Mal in Gefahr war, mich an Formloses fortzugeben.<sup>4</sup>

Two outward signs of the change Lou wrought in Rilke were the change in his handwriting, which became neat and precise like hers, and the change in his name from René to Rainer. *Mir Zur Feier*, the counterpart of *Dir Zur Feier*, was the first collection of poems signed "Rainer Maria Rilke."

As one should expect, considering that they were written at the same time and under a similar impulse, the poems in the two collections are very similar, both thematically and stylistically, except that in *Dir Zur Feier* the second-person pronoun predominates, while in *Mir Zur Feier* it is the first-person pronoun that is used most frequently. They are, as Rilke says in the motto to the latter collection, "gentle dialogues" between him and his love. The fact that two poems, "Der Abend ist mein Buch" (No. 57 in *Dir Zur Feier*) and "Unsere Träume sind Marmorhermen" (No. 73), appear in both collections further emphasizes their close kinship.

Such stylistic differences as exist between the two volumes can be accounted for by the different treatment they received from the poet. *Mir Zur Feier* was prepared for publication; *Dir Zur Feier* remained in manuscript. The poems in the former collection were carefully revised; indeed, some of those originally included were omitted when the volume was reissued in Rilke's collected works under the title *Frühe Gedichte*. The poems in *Dir Zur Feier* were not subjected to this process of revision—as is shown in a comparison of the first versions of the poems contained in *Sämtliche Werke*, III, with their final forms in *Sämtliche Werke*, I.

Rilke undoubtedly would have revised many poems in *Dir Zur Feier* had he intended to have them published. Even so, he made slight changes when he copied the poems from his notebooks. Thus the first line of poem No. 34, which reads in *Dir Zur Feier* "Das Leben ist gut und leicht," read originally "Das Leben ist lieb und leicht." Rilke may have made the change because he was aware that he was overusing alliteration. And in the same poem the change of the third line from the iambic "Wir wollen es fester fassen" to the trochaic "Fester wollen wirs fassen" opening beat probably was made because he felt that the poem needed some metric variation to avoid monotony. Any critical judgment of the formal qualities of these poems must take into account the fact that they represent first versions.

In content and theme these poems closely resemble those in *Mir Zur*

<sup>4</sup> Rilke—Andreas-Salomé, *Briefwechsel*, p. 119.

*Feier* and consequently present many of the same problems. When Rilke decided to include the latter in his collected works, he did so because he felt that they represented a phase in his development—and as a measure of his poetic growth they are indeed interesting—but he did not think very highly of them. Most Rilke scholars agree with him, except Heerikhuizen who says that “the collections *Advent* and *In My Honor*, now entitled *Early Poems*, contain some of the finest youth poetry that I know. Here is wonder, at least in so far as we are receptive to the sensorially intuitive beauty sought by the neo-romantics.”<sup>6</sup>

But the question is: what significance does such beauty have? That many of these poems are beautiful, some even beguilingly so, is true enough. Their melodious rhythms, evocative alliterations, and ornate assonances are very pleasing to the ear, but if you try to grasp them, they dissolve. They are like dreams you cannot quite recall.

Aber ich ahne an Abendrainen  
werden wir unsere Seelen uns zeigen.  
Und aus der meinen und aus der deinen  
werden Gestalten der Stille steigen,  
die sich leise entgegenweinen. . . (p. 190)

Love, of course, is the recurrent theme, the mysterious landscape of love through which the poet walks as if in sleep, vainly trying to grasp the object of his love:

Mir ist, als ob ich alles Licht verlöre.  
Der Abend naht und heimlich wird das Haus;  
ich breite einsam beide Arme aus,  
und keiner sagt mir, wo ich hingehöre.

Wozu hab ich am Tage alle Pracht  
gesammelt in den Gärten und den Gassen,  
kann ich dir zeigen nicht in meiner Nacht,  
wie mich der neue Reichtum grösser macht  
und wie mir alle Kronen passen? (p. 196)

It is pure poetry of mood, vaguely yearning for something to come, vaguely nostalgic of something that has been, perfect of its kind: sentimental, sensitive, and simple. True, sometimes the beauty of a line is marred by an excessive use of alliteration and assonance, but then again there are perfect lines with metaphor, meter, and rhyme blending naturally and easily. Beauty of this kind Rilke's love poetry has in abundance, and, in this respect, it is typically Rilkean. But it is not great poetry, not because it is so obviously the poetry of an adolescent—Rimbaud wrote great poetry when he was still a youth—but because it lacks the chief element of great poetry: a sense of engagement or, to borrow a term from Heidegger, the “resolute decision” to accept life as it is, without any romantic gloss, and to affirm the

<sup>6</sup> F. W. Van Heerikhuizen, *Rainer Maria Rilke: His Life and Work* (New York, 1952), p. 79.

reality of human existence. Rilke himself was aware of that lack. Hence his frequent lament to Lou to be "ein Wirklicher unter Wirklichen."<sup>6</sup> That he was not when he wrote *Dir Zur Feier*.

These poems are not likely to enhance Rilke's reputation, nor do they add much to our knowledge of his relationship with Lou Andreas-Salomé. Like most of his early verses, their importance lies not in what they are, but in what they promise. "They signify," as he told his publisher Kippenberg (with respect to the collection *Mir Zur Feier*) on January 15, 1909, "the extreme end of a period of development." It is from this point of view that one has to read and understand them.

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<sup>6</sup> Rilke—Andreas-Salomé, *Briefwechsel*, p. 121.

## HEINRICH MANN AND NIETZSCHE

By ROGER A. NICHOLLS

The influence of Nietzsche on literature at the turn of the twentieth century takes many forms. Particular elements of Nietzsche's complicated and unsettling thought were emphasized according to individual temperaments and intellectual needs. Heinrich Mann offers an interesting example of the way in which Nietzsche's appeal made itself felt on a highly sensitive and critical writer. Echoes of Nietzsche may be found throughout most of Heinrich Mann's writings, but it would perhaps be most useful to concentrate on the early trilogy *Die Göttinnen*, where the influence seems most explicit, to attempt to find what it is in Nietzsche that is important to Heinrich Mann and how Mann made use of Nietzsche's thought and experience.

*Die Göttinnen*, three novels dealing with the life of the Duchess of Assy, appeared in 1902-1903. This was among the most ambitious of Mann's earlier works and one that today seems particularly revealing of his inmost concerns. Heinrich Mann had achieved his first success a year or two earlier with *Im Schlaraffenland*, a brilliant comic exposure of the literary coteries of Berlin. *Die Göttinnen* seeks to go deeper, to reveal the nature of contemporary life by contrast with the standards of a previous age. The portrait of the Duchess seems to express an urge in Mann to break free from the contemporary and everyday world he knows and reconstruct the nobler spirit of the past. She is an isolated survivor of an aristocratic era who sees life, as it were, from above, from the point of view of the strong and the possessing. At the same time her values serve as a measure by which the contemporary bourgeois world may be analyzed and judged.

Mann attempts nothing less than an exploration of the whole reigning morality, observing in contrast with the Duchess the extravagances and weaknesses of the present. Nietzsche's contribution may be felt in both these aspects. As a chronicler of decadence, he provided Mann with a means for interpreting and understanding his own deeply felt sense of degeneration. At the same time, the Duchess reflects that longing for human grandeur that Nietzsche believed possible only in periods free from the rational and moral restraints of the present.

For the portrait of the Duchess there were many immediate predecessors. Ibsen's Hedda Gabler, Wedekind's Lulu, Zola's Nana, are only some of the more familiar studies of an outstanding woman suffering as the victim of her time. While Mann continues this tradition in attempting a fresh, personal observation of feminine psychology, there is something new in this portrait which points to the particular

inspiration of Nietzsche. Nietzsche's search to discover in a bourgeois age the qualities that make up a genuinely "noble" scale of values is a recurrent theme in much of his work. The essay "Was ist vornehm?" at the end of *Jenseits von Gut und Böse* raises the problem most specifically: "woran erkennt man, unter diesem schweren verhängten Himmel der beginnenden Pöbelherrschaft, durch den Alles undurchsichtig und bleiern wird, den vornehmen Menschen?" (XV, 252)<sup>1</sup> The picture of the Duchess of Assy, for all her individual and personal qualities, reflects a similar search to reveal the characteristics that are the expression of a noble or aristocratic tradition. Mann is seeking in his own way to discover the values Nietzsche sought: "typische Merkmale der vornehmen Moral, welche, wie angedeutet, nicht die Moral der 'modernen Ideen' ist und deshalb heute schwer nachzufühlen, auch schwer auszugraben und aufzudecken ist" (XV, 229).

Violante, Duchess of Assy, lives in constant awareness of her family's past. Her ancestors go back to the freebooters of the Renaissance and beyond that to the Norman conquerors of France and Sicily and the pagan Norseman Björn Björnside.

Menschen der Entzweiung, der Schwärmerei, des Raubes und der heissen, plötzlichen Liebe. . . Überall empfanden die Schwachen, das weiche und feige Volk, ihre lachende Grausamkeit und ihre harte, fremde Verachtung. Unter ihresgleichen bewährten sie sich opfermütig, ehrfürchtig, zartsinnig und dankbar. (I, 12)<sup>2</sup>

The phrases recall at once Nietzsche's emphasis on the barbarian, the blond beast of prey, at the origin of every aristocratic culture and the hidden source of its power: "Die vornehme Kaste war im Anfang immer die Barbaren-Kaste" (XV, 224); "verachtet wird der Feige, der Ängstliche" (XV, 227); "in der Strenge ihres Grundsatzes, dass man nur gegen Seinesgleichen Pflichten habe; dass man gegen die Wesen niedrigeren Ranges . . . nach Gutdünken . . . handeln dürfe" (XV, 229).

The Duchess is brought up with a knowledge of the glory of the past and a sense of emptiness in the present, and her story may be interpreted as a search to find how life may still be lived in the second half of the nineteenth century in a way worthy of the energy and passion of her ancestors. Educated in isolation, in a castle on a rock, she is taught to be concerned only with herself, and her training has as its object "dem Kinde eine möglichst hohe Achtung vor der eigenen Person beizubringen . . ." (I, 14). On this basis of inherited pride, the final touches to her view of the world are given by her French tutor, a disciple of Voltaire and the "Essai sur les mœurs." But Vol-

<sup>1</sup> References to Nietzsche's works are to the Musarion Verlag edition, *Gesammelte Werke von Friedrich Nietzsche* (Munich, 1920-1929), in 23 volumes. This remains the most complete scholarly edition, despite its many weaknesses.

<sup>2</sup> Quotations are from the Kurt Wolff Verlag edition of Heinrich Mann's *Gesammelte Romane und Novellen* (Munich, 1922). *Die Göttinnen* appeared in this edition in three volumes.

taire's intellectual principles of justice and truth have a peculiar flavor. This is the Voltaire to whom Nietzsche dedicated his *Menschliches, Allzumenschliches*, a "Grandseigneur des Geistes" (XVII, 366),<sup>3</sup> "der Vollender des höfischen Geschmacks" (XIII, 131).<sup>4</sup> His is the teaching of a free spirit, independent, humorously and elegantly skeptical of others' beliefs and judgments, casually ironic toward the mysteries of God.

With this enormous respect for herself and the values of her own upbringing—"Die vornehme Seele hat Ehrfurcht vor sich" (XV, 253)<sup>5</sup>—the Duchess remains in all her experiences of life untouched by the judgments of the outer world, indifferent to the opinion of the bourgeoisie among whom she lives. It is this unchallengeable self-respect that keeps her free from all the powerful dictates of what Nietzsche called "ressentiment." This is as essential for understanding Heinrich Mann here as it is for Nietzsche. Nietzsche later described his essay *Zur Genealogie der Moral* as the psychological exposition of the contrast between a noble morality and the morality of resentment, "the latter having sprung up as a denial of the former" (cf. XVII, 195).<sup>6</sup>

The valuations of the bourgeois society with which the Duchess comes in contact are inextricably involved in a sense of reaction, envy, and revenge. Their judgments can never break free from these destructive forces. Their standards are necessarily those of the inferior, false, and biased because they are a form of protection, for the most part unconscious, against the outer world. Only she is able to live and make judgments freely, independently, disinterestedly. For as Nietzsche writes:

Der aktive, der angreifende, übergreifende Mensch ist immer noch der Gerechtigkeit hundert Schritte näher gestellt als der reaktive; es ist eben für ihn durchaus nicht nöthig, in der Art, wie es der reaktive Mensch thut, thun muss, sein Objekt falsch und voreingenommen abzuschätzen. (XV, 340)<sup>7</sup>

Thus only a few of the people she comes to know are sensitive enough to appreciate the vital truthfulness of the Duchess' impulses, the fact that she always acts in accordance with her real, natural self. These few long for a similar sense of the spontaneous and genuine, and it is among these that the Duchess makes her friends. Inspired by contact with her, they struggle to overcome the limitations of their own nature and live according to her values.

The problem arises as to how the Duchess' "nobility" finds expression in the world of action. We have to understand that while she is driven by a longing to participate, to feel herself active and alive, her isolation and sense of superiority serve as a partly unbridgeable barrier between her and the world. The individual novels of the trilogy

<sup>3</sup> Aus dem Nachlass: "Kunst und Künstler."

<sup>4</sup> *Die Fröhliche Wissenschaft*.

<sup>5</sup> *Jenseits von Gut und Böse*.

<sup>6</sup> *Der Antichrist*.

<sup>7</sup> *Zur Genealogie der Moral*.



are named after the three goddesses, Diana, Minerva, and Venus, to whom she dedicates herself. But in each sphere of activity, whether it is politics and revolution or art and the search for beauty or her final absorption in love, the particular experience remains less important than her consuming need to feel working in herself the passions of life.

From one point of view, her life would seem a series of disillusionments in which reality never corresponds to the hopes she set on it—her lovers prove inadequate, the artists live in a world of escape, politics involves her only in meaningless intrigue. But each disappointment is overcome because success or failure leaves her inner conviction of her own worth untouched. Thus she concludes that the nature of our actions in the end does not matter; it is only feeling that counts. She writes to her friend, the old Garibaldi disciple San Bacco: "unter uns kommt es auf Gesinnungen an; nicht auf Werke" (I, 239). And later: "Ich kenne nur eine Aristokratie, die der Empfindung. Gemein nenne ich jeden, der hässlich empfindet" (II, 129).

In this conviction Mann is still close to Nietzsche, who speculated without much sense of reality about possible patterns of behavior that the true nobleman might follow, and comes to see the noble only in what a man is, not in what he does. It may be also that Mann's distinction between "Gesinnungen" and "Werke" is a linguistic echo of Nietzsche.

den vornehmen Menschen? Es sind nicht die Handlungen, die ihn beweisen,—Handlungen sind immer vieldeutig, immer unergründlich—; es sind auch die "Werke" nicht... Es sind nicht die Werke, es ist der *Glaube*, der hier entscheidet, der hier die Rangordnung feststellt, um eine alte religiöse Formel in einem neuen und tieferen Verstande wieder aufzunehmen... (XV, 253)<sup>a</sup>

When young, the Duchess felt life had nothing to offer her, there was no place worthy, no goals she could believe in. Yet at the end she feels her life has been a true one, that she has found a value in life itself, because in each experience her heart has been open to the world. The novel ends in apparent triumph; when she is dying, she cries out that her life has been worthy of her family: "Tochter Björn (Björnsides) steige auf gen Himmel" (III, 326). With this theatrical flourish we seem to find in her the affirmation Nietzsche demanded, a "Yes-saying" to her own life, a faith in its value, a joy in its living.

Yet despite this final affirmation, the Duchess' life leaves us with a peculiar sense of dissatisfaction. There are too many uncertain elements. How are we to explain her recurring feeling that everything has been done before and seen before and painted before, every passion has been experienced, every valid action taken (cf. III, 191)? This is not only because the overcivilized outer world has become depressed and weary, but because she herself has so strong a sense of her own family's decline and is haunted by the fear her ancestors have used up its last energies. Hence the recurrent sense of "Is that all?"

<sup>a</sup> *Jenseits von Gut und Böse.*

Is there no other joy to be looked for? Does life itself not offer more (cf. III, 223)?

This sense of the ultimate emptiness of life has another aspect. In an interesting passage she asserts a distinction between her nature and that of her closest artist friend, Jakobus Halm. In contrast to hers, she claims, his life possesses nothing; it is filled only with a longing for greatness, for generous emotions and noble actions. "Sie haben nur *begehrt*... Mein Leben aber ist ein Kunstwerk, das schon vor meiner Geburt vollendet war: das ist mein Glaube. Ich habe es nur durchzuspielen, bis zu Ende. Kein Zufall wird mich unterbrechen" (II, 338).

At first this would appear to be an assertion of conviction of the values of her own life comparable with Nietzsche's "*amor fati*," the sense of being one of the chosen, "the Dionysian affirmation of life," as he calls it (XIX, 357),<sup>9</sup> "my true formula for human greatness" (XXI, 211).<sup>10</sup> But on further consideration, we see that her life is a role which she has to play, a game which essentially does not touch her. Thus nobility is no longer a creative self-assertion as it was for her ancestors and in the sense that Nietzsche demanded the great man as creator of values. But instead, despite the impulse to action, nobility seems to have come close to being a form of aesthetic sensibility keeping her away from the emotions of the vulgar.

The difficulty we meet in thus trying to assess the Duchess' character may in fact be interpreted through Nietzsche himself. The nature of the Duchess' nobility rests, as we have seen, on Nietzschean principles, especially as expressed in the *Jenseits von Gut und Böse*. But this means stressing one side only of Nietzsche's thought. There are many vital aspects of Nietzsche that such an emphasis ignores, but for our purposes we may summarize what is lacking by insisting on the distinction Nietzsche emphatically draws between Dionysian and romantic. This is a central problem in Nietzsche's thinking, but one much overlooked by his early followers.

Nietzsche in later essays summarized his view that the romantic was a confession of the inadequacy of reality, as opposed to the Dionysian "gratitude for happiness," arising "not from fullness but from dearth" (cf. XIX, 242 and 348).<sup>11</sup> Earlier he argued again and again about the nature of romanticism. A passage from a discussion on "Was ist Romantik?" in *Die Fröhliche Wissenschaft*, where he speaks of his own struggle with the romantic temptation of Wagner and Schopenhauer, is strikingly apposite here. Nietzsche asserts he had mistaken German nineteenth-century philosophic pessimism and the new German music for symptoms of greater strength of thought and greater courage than had marked the era of Hume and Kant, and he goes on to give his reasons for this illusion:

<sup>9</sup> *Der Wille zur Macht*.

<sup>10</sup> *Ecce Homo*.

<sup>11</sup> *Der Wille zur Macht*.

Jede Kunst, jede Philosophie, darf als Heil- und Hilfsmittel im Dienste des wachsenden, kämpfenden Lebens angesehen werden: sie setzen immer Leiden und Leidende voraus. Aber es giebt zweierlei Leidende, einmal die an der *Ueberfülle des Lebens* Leidenden, welche eine dionysische Kunst wollen und ebenso eine tragische Ansicht und Einsicht in das Leben,—und sodann die an der *Verarmung des Lebens* Leidenden, die Ruhe, Stille, glattes Meer, Erlösung von sich durch die Kunst und Erkenntniss suchen, oder aber den Rausch, den Krampf, die Betäubung, den Wahnsinn. (XII, 309)

Despite the harshness of Mann's Nietzschean psychology, as seen in his attempt to show the cruel reality of the aristocratic spirit and the unconcern for sentimental moral values that this involves, the fact emerges that the portrait of the Duchess is essentially a romantic one in disguise; it is emptiness and longing for life that impels her, not fullness or excess. She suffers from an impoverishment of everyday existence and seeks the "intoxication" and the "madness" of conviction and faith. She is, despite everything, the victim of her age. Her longing for a life worthy of her ancestors is in the end a form of romantic escape from her sense of decay.

In this respect we may point out how Mann's relationship to Nietzsche seems to have been influenced by the popular movement of "Renaissancism." Nietzsche's early fame coincided with a new outburst of enthusiasm for the amorality and overflowing passions of the Renaissance. Many of the more striking elements in Nietzsche—his cult of immoralism, his attacks on the slave-morality of modern times, the admiration he asserted for Cesare Borgia and the Renaissance "man of prey"—seemed to justify such an association. Many passages might be cited in which he asserts that the creation of superman or the elevation of man in any form may well demand the immoral world of the Renaissance:

dass Gefahr, Härte, Gewaltsamkeit, Gefahr auf der Gasse wie im Herzen, Ungleichheit der Rechte, Verborgenheit, Stoicismus, Versucher-Kunst, Teufelei jeder Art, kurz der Gegensatz aller Heerden-Wünschbarkeiten zur Erhöhung des Typus Menschen nothwendig ist. (XIX, 315)<sup>12</sup>

But to emphasize this alone is, of course, far too hasty a simplification of Nietzsche. These are the problems with which he struggles, and he warns again and again against the uncertainties of this very "Renaissance" movement in passages that deplore the "cult of passion" and joy in "furore espressivo" as characteristic aberrations of romanticism.

Mein Kampf gegen die *Romantik*, in der christliche Ideale und Ideale Rousseau's zusammenkommen, zugleich aber mit einer Sehnsucht nach der *alten Zeit*, der priesterlich-aristokratischen Cultur, nach *virtù*, nach dem "starken Menschen"—etwas äusserst Hybrides; eine falsche und nachgemachte Art *stärkeren* Menschenthums, welches die extremen Zustände überhaupt schätzt und in ihnen das Symptom der Stärke sieht. . . (XIX, 348)<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> *Der Wille zur Macht*.

<sup>13</sup> *Idem*.

Yet when we consider Mann's work from the point of view of the creative writer, it seems perhaps inevitable that his portrait should have these romantic qualities. Although Mann clearly intends the Duchess to stand apart from her bourgeois environment, she is not an abstract figure invented from theory alone. The Duchess is a part of life, created by the novelist as a human being in a human situation and envisioned very concretely by him.<sup>14</sup> Thus she is necessarily a figure of the nineteenth century, a part of the world in which she lives. Mann's purpose itself is ambiguous, as we see in the fact that he chose a woman as the last of the Assy's. How are the positive, aggressive qualities that Nietzsche demands to be expressed here? We might expect a kind of "Überweib," but this would mean a complete sacrifice of Mann's critical sense. Instead, his actual treatment of the woman is much closer to the genuine point of view of Nietzsche, who in an age of flourishing feminism emphasized the inescapably different roles of the sexes.

Heinrich Mann sees women as ultimately dependent on men; the very sense of emptiness the Duchess feels comes from the failure of the time and above all the failure of man. Since women are closer to nature than men, they retain more primitive strength, but they suffer all the more from the desperateness of the situation. They search for tasks which are essentially those of men. This is a frequently recurring theme in Mann's works. And the Duchess is not free from an experience that she shares with other women in the trilogy, the sculptress Properzia Ponti, for instance, or the world traveler Lady Olympia Ragg, and such other heroines as Ute Ende in *Die Jagd nach Liebe* and Lola Gabriel in *Zwischen den Rassen*. But to recognize this is to see the Duchess no longer as an external measure for the age, but as one who is herself involved in its complex problems.

One other piece of evidence of the uncertainty of the Duchess' position may be found in her choice of friends. That she is so frequently deceived in them seems to point to a lack of assurance in her instincts. Above all, we feel this in her close ties to the Garibaldian revolutionary San Bacco. If there is anyone she feels to be her equal, it is he (cf. II, 329).

In contrast to the petty, self-seeking politicians with whom the Duchess is involved, San Bacco is a man of honor, devoted to an ideal of freedom and justice. In an age that he has learned to detest, governed by expediency and cautious intrigue, he remains a man of faith, willing to sacrifice everything for his cause and for his dignity as a man. Yet there is something distinctly ridiculous in San Bacco. He is conscious of having lived beyond his time and having thus become an anachronism. A scene is impressed on us of his practicing sword play with his young admirer Nino, but it is a combat in which the

<sup>14</sup> Compare the discussion for the portrait on the dust jacket of the first edition in Albert Soergel, *Dichtung und Dichter der Zeit*, Neue Folge (Leipzig, 1925), p. 78.

swords are really the staves of the old court jesters which they have taken from the wall.

San Bacco has in him an element of Don Quixote. No revolution, it is said, takes place without him. The term "quixotic," which is used several times to describe him, serves to point to the futile idealism of his actions in a practical age. But the Quixote element has perhaps further implications. Has the whole idea of the noble become now slightly absurd? The man of common sense finds such ideas simply folly and play acting.

It may be pointed out that Nietzsche himself seems to have felt at times the fear that his own life might be a ridiculous and desperate search for the unreal and may have been inclined to identify himself with Don Quixote. He speaks anxiously of the way in which all higher aspirations have been given an ironic turn through Cervantes' attacks on the romance of chivalry (cf. IX, 445).<sup>15</sup> He fears that his own reverence for classical antiquity is an example of Don Quixotism (V, 226),<sup>16</sup> and he protests against Don Quixote's horrifying end, when Cervantes does not spare his hero from the dreadful revelation of his own fate. While it cannot be suggested that Heinrich Mann here has in mind any attempt to ridicule the ambition of Nietzsche to establish a higher code of values against the disintegration of the present, the fact remains that Mann's effort to portray the reality of such nobility in real life ends in this case perilously close to a parody.

Whatever doubts may have arisen concerning the private and romantic characteristics of the Duchess, and however hesitant we may be to look on her as a representative of Nietzsche's noble morality, the role she plays, in contrast with the contemporary world, remains valid. When we turn to consider the other characters, the essential center of interpretation lies in the conflict between her aristocratic values and the morality of the bourgeois, or more specifically between her spontaneity of judgment and action and the negative evaluations of "ressentiment." It is only when we fully understand the reality of this Nietzschean distinction that the actions of these other leading figures fall into place.

Without attempting to examine in detail the wide range of individuals who fill the pages of this book, we must observe the psychological factors at work in one or two significant instances. It should be emphasized that Mann's technique is extremely concrete; he does not deal in abstractions, he sees the world in pictures with an immediacy that shows his feeling for the particular. As he himself said later: "Ich hatte nur Fühlung für die Erscheinungen."<sup>17</sup> At one level his

<sup>15</sup> Aus der Zeit des Menschlichen, Allzumenschlichen. Compare a discussion of this in Walter Kaufmann, *Nietzsche: Philosopher, Psychologist, Antichrist* (Princeton, 1950).

<sup>16</sup> *Unzeitgemässe Betrachtungen—Vom Nutzen und Nachteil der Historie für das Leben.*

<sup>17</sup> In his brief "Selbstbiographie" of March, 1943, reproduced in facsimile at the end of Herbert Jhering, *Heinrich Mann* (Berlin, 1951).



characters seem to be presented "naively" and directly just as they are. But when the reader attempts to draw together in his own mind the elements which make up the total effect of any one character, he finds a very exact, even an overly precise, psychological scale of values by which the characters are assessed.<sup>18</sup> This scale helps, of course, to give the novels their essential unity, for each individual's experience throws light on the problems of the others, so that each is seen struggling in his own way with the fate that possesses them all.

The work centers around those who are close enough to the Duchess to understand her, to realize that in the apparent contradictoriness of her life, she always acts in accordance with her real self. Involved as they are in subtle ways with the accepted values of bourgeois society, in which greed and cautious self-seeking are dominant motives, they are nevertheless inspired by contact with the Duchess to struggle to free themselves from the limitations of their own nature. They are driven by that longing for the noble which Nietzsche noted among some of his contemporaries, "Die Begierde nach dem Vornehmen," "Die Pöbelambition nach generösen Gefühlen" (XVII, 111).<sup>19</sup> They are specifically involved in the conflicting moral standards of the Western tradition that Nietzsche repeatedly tried to analyze and isolate.

This conflict is seen in Dr. Pavic, the Slav revolutionary leader, who betrays himself to the Duchess by his cowardly avoidance of the dangers of the revolt they stir up, and who struggles to restore his own dignity and worth in her eyes. It is at work in the literary critic Della Pergola, who also gives his support to the Duchess' cause. Della Pergola has gained a position of authority and power in the intellectual life of Rome by the sharpness and ruthlessness of his judgments and his ability to see through all sentimental illusions. The bitterness of his attacks, however, comes from his insight into his own character, into the motives of his own actions. He uncovers in others the attitudes and pretensions he recognizes in himself. Yet he is caught by his desire for the Duchess.

Just as Pavic struggles to free himself from the stigma of calculated self-interest that controls his actions, so Della Pergola has a longing to abandon the ambitious pretensions by which he has gained success. He wants for once to yield to passion, to be blind, to forget all self-seeking. But at bottom this remains a longing for passion, not passion itself. There is something false and hysterical in the very nature of his desires. His urge to achieve nobility through passion is merely a refined snobbery, a pretense of something he does not possess. When he demands the Duchess' love in return for his support, her instinct tells her

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Arthur Eloesser's judgment in his *Die deutsche Literatur vom Barock bis zur Gegenwart* (Berlin, 1930-1931), II, where he argues that Mann's characters seem at one level natural and vital and yet at another level seem to exist only in order to prove a thesis. "His talent is nourished by a rational faculty in search of causes (einer begründenden Ratio)" (pp. 518-19).

<sup>19</sup> *Götterdämmerung*.



that he does not really desire her; it is merely his ambition and pride that demand her surrender.

This same conflict is found again in the artists and writers who play such an important part in the Duchess' life. It may be most revealing to examine one of these figures in some detail. The painter Jakobus Halm is closest to the Duchess, and it is in his studio that she first feels art's potential power. But from the beginning she is wary of the nature of Halm's work. Indeed, he explains his own weaknesses with an eloquence that is in itself suspicious. He is both inspired and oppressed by the achievements of the Renaissance masters and feels forced to measure himself against them. He has moments of greatness, but they come only as the result of the complete surrender of all other claims of life; the abandonment of all normal desires to the overwhelming demands of art.

This same longing for the strength of the past may also explain his love for the Duchess. But love in the world of reality means the sacrifice of his art which no longer justifies the ascetic dedication it demands. As long as she refuses him, he finds an easy, compensating success in the use of his talents as a popular portrait painter. When she finally gives herself to him, he discovers that love means everything and destroys all other ambitions. He abandons his career and retires to the country.

Halm had hoped that the possession of the Duchess would arouse his true powers as an artist, that through her the devastating divisions of his life would be healed. But the fact is that he never had the strength for such an achievement. It could come only from a harmony of the conflicting forces that in fact tear his life apart. Hence the limit of Halm's achievement is the revelation of decadence, never a triumph over it. His apparent successes were merely theatrical pretensions.

"Ich habe ein eigenes Genre entdeckt, ich nenne es heimlich: die hysterische Renaissance! Moderne Ärmlichkeiten und Perversitäten verkleide und schminke ich mit so überlegener Geschicklichkeit, dass sie an dem vollen Menschentume des goldenen Zeitalters teil zu haben scheinen." (II, 142)

His final and most genuine work is a devastatingly revealing portrait of one of their friends, the pitiable critic Siebelind. There can be no doubt that this picture is ultimately to be regarded as a disguised self-portrait, for the frightening element in Siebelind's character as he reappears throughout the book is the way in which he reveals the hollowness underlying them all. Bitterly self-critical, he sees through all disguises in himself and his friends. His hatred of the world, lightly covered by his ironical manner, finds its only compensation in the secret superiority given him by his ability to pierce all pretenses. Halm's portrait shows a man who, according to the Duchess, "despises because he has not the power to envy." And beneath the longing and admiration that the Duchess arouses among her friends is the knowledge hidden within themselves of their own envy and the frustrated envy that is scorn.

This is not the place to go into a discussion of the "artist problem." An awareness of the equivocal nature of the artist's ambitions was, of course, a widely felt experience at the turn of the century.<sup>20</sup> Echoes of it are to be found throughout nineteenth-century literature, going back at least to Grillparzer's *Sappho*.<sup>21</sup> Particularly for Heinrich Mann, the artist's sense of emptiness, his forlorn search for the genuine and impassioned, is not an isolated experience, but one that has to be explained in the whole context of contemporary civilization. The fate of the modern artist, a theme which Heinrich Mann treated again in isolation in his novelle *Pippo Spano* and elsewhere, is here placed in the whole framework of nineteenth-century decadence as an overwhelmingly revealing and incontestable expression of the age's decline.

Halm and the others of Mann's artists who appear in *Die Göttinnen* are the protesting victims of the whole middle-class tradition. When they cry out that art has become a tyranny destroying the spontaneity of their feelings and demanding the sacrifice of all their powers, they are aware only of their own experience and their own despair. But in the context of the whole, their despair and their appeal to a greater age than their own becomes a blast of enmity against the total world they know. Their desire to emulate the artists of the Renaissance for whom art was the natural, overflowing expression of the total man is an appeal for a world that has as its foundation a totally different ethos and different code of values. Their hopes to escape on their own are inevitably doomed to failure.

Despite other predecessors, it must have been Nietzsche who enabled Mann to see things thus explicitly, for it was Nietzsche who first attempted to interpret the artist's role in the broadest context of contemporary degeneration. Nietzsche as a young man sought in the artist, that is in Wagner—Wagner for Nietzsche is the modern artist per se—nothing less than a regenerator of civilization. "Die Kunst Wagners als Erlöserin des Modernen" (VII, 283).<sup>22</sup> (And this is really what the Duchess longs for in Halm.) Nietzsche in a sense ascribed to Wagner in this period of his life the victory over decadence that was later the task of the "Übermensch." The disillusion that resulted was the source of the bitterness in Nietzsche's later attacks on Wagner and on the artist in general; hence Nietzsche's emphasis on the artist as deceiver, as actor, as one who plays with passions and beliefs for the sake of passing effects. One aphorism of Nietzsche's neatly summarizes two significant features of the artists we have seen in Heinrich Mann.

<sup>20</sup> Cf., for instance, the studies by Karl Justus Obenauer, *Die Problematik des ästhetischen Menschen in der deutschen Literatur* (Munich, 1933), and Hans Wilhelm Rosenhaupt, *Der deutsche Dichter um die Jahrhundertwende und seine Abgelöstheit von der Gesellschaft* (Berne, 1939).

<sup>21</sup> Cf. the contrast between *Sappho* and Goethe's *Torquato Tasso* developed briefly by Elizabeth M. Wilkinson in her essay "Über den Begriff der künstlerischen Distanz bei Schiller" in the *Deutsche Beiträge zur geistigen Überlieferung*, III (Berne, 1957), 81, and elsewhere.

<sup>22</sup> *Unzeitgemässe Betrachtungen: Richard Wagner in Bayreuth*.

Künstler sind *nicht* die Menschen der *grossen* Leidenschaft, was sie uns und sich auch vorreden mögen. Und das aus zwei Gründen: es fehlt ihnen die Scham vor sich selber (sie sehen sich zu, *indem sie leben*; sie lauern sich auf, sie sind zu neugierig) und es fehlt ihnen auch die Scham vor der grossen Leidenschaft (sie beuten sie als Artisten aus). Zweitens aber ihr Vampyr, ihr Talent, missgönnt ihnen meist solche Verschwendung von Kraft, welche Leidenschaft heisst. — Mit einem Talent ist man auch das Opfer seines Talents: man lebt unter dem Vampirismus seines Talents. (XIX, 224)<sup>23</sup>

Heinrich Mann's study of the Duchess of Assy sprang from his urge to break free from the decadence of contemporary, bourgeois life. It has been seen to what extent he envisaged the Duchess' life as a last, triumphant affirmation of an aristocratic era in which she revealed once more the vitality of her ancestors. To this study Nietzsche gave consistency, an independence from moral presuppositions and a harsh awareness of what it means to judge from above, without the need of protective evaluations. This, together with the sharpness of Mann's own insight, gave the work its originality, made it something other than a new expression of the romantic struggle against the Philistines.

Yet within Nietzsche's own terms Mann did not escape the romantic; the Duchess' longing for greatness proved but reaction to a sense of present emptiness rather than genuine "Dionysian abundance." She is herself a victim of the age, does not stand free and isolated from the torment of those among whom she lives. Nor is it she who finally dominates the mood of the work. The three novels do not impress us as being a declaration of the values of the past or as a true revelation of Nietzschean nobility, but rather as a new and intimate exposure of modern decadence, the struggle of the *fin de siècle* against its own sense of degeneration. The tone reflects the extravagant and even hysterical quality of this period. Heinrich Mann cannot ultimately escape his own bitterly skeptical insight into the world.

It seems as if his work here must be judged by the standards he himself imposes. The experimental picture of the Duchess is an expression of just that longing for the values of a stronger age that the author portrays in the other figures of this work, in Halm and Della Pergola among others. In this we may see Mann's peculiarly ambiguous relationship with the spirit of "Renaissancism." The character of the Duchess shows Mann tempted by the immoralist extravagance of this movement with its independence from the restraints of over-civilized modern society. The temptation of this "furioso espressivo," as Nietzsche called it, continues to exist as one aspect of Mann's work, together with his struggle to resist it.

The moral for Mann's own career lies in the skepticism expressed by his other figures. For all the pageantry Mann reveals in the triumph of the Duchess' life and death, the novels leave us sharing the conclusions of the disillusioned Jakobus Halm.

"Wir sollen nie glauben, etwas anderes zu können, als das, was wir machen. . . . Wir sind heute alle auf das Kranke angewiesen. Wo immer ein Verfall röchelt,

<sup>23</sup> *Der Wille zur Macht*.

da antworten wir. Das ist unser Beruf. Ich aber vergriff mich an dem grossen, gesunden Leben. Sie, Herzogin, waren damals Venus, glatt und reif. Ich wollte aus Ihnen etwas Überschwängliches machen, etwas Allumarmendes, eine zermal-mende Verherrlichung. Schliesslich ward Siebelinds leidende Fratze daraus." (III, 287)

Halm's caricature of Siebelind is a forecast of Mann's own future, which lay in the revelation of human suffering and perversity and rejected the urge to cover up the reality of the decadence he saw.

The romantic temptation of the Renaissance recurs periodically in Heinrich Mann's work. It is reflected in the collection of novellen with the revealing title *Flöten und Dolche* of 1904-1905, particularly in the well-known *Pippo Spano*<sup>24</sup> and in the stories in *Die Rückkehr vom Hades* (1911). The scene is always Italy, and Italy remains a place of refuge. Even *Die kleine Stadt* (1909), which has a much greater surface realism than the other Italian studies, may be mentioned here, for in it is revealed Mann's attraction to the supposed frankness and intensity of the Italian people and the directness of response he found such a relief from the hypocritical spirit of the north.

Despite these occasional sorties into romance, however, the emphasis in Mann's work from *Im Schlaraffenland* through *Die Jagd nach Liebe* and *Professor Unrat* and on to the Wilhelminian trilogy *Der Untertan*, *Die Armen*, and *Der Kopf*, was a growing bitterness in his observation of the contemporary scene and a stern rejection of illusory reconciliations. In this development Mann's picture of Nietzsche did not change. In *Die Göttinnen* Nietzsche had been the principal source of criteria by which the age could be judged; Mann's work continues the exploration of modern decadence but never again in so explicitly Nietzschean terms. Mann's associations with Nietzsche were more and more with the unrestrained passions of the Renaissance cult.

We have seen in studying *Die Göttinnen* that Mann was not close enough in feeling with Nietzsche to appreciate the combination of love and hate that permeates Nietzsche's own struggle with the romantics and is found in the complex relationship with Wagner. This desperate conflict in Nietzsche's life finds no reflection anywhere in Mann's work. Nietzsche means to Mann more and more the doctrinaire of power, who praises the ruthless egoism of Cesare Borgia and the cruel, healthy pagan.

It is noteworthy that in *Die Jagd nach Liebe*, a study of Bohemian and intellectual life in Munich, which followed immediately after *Die Göttinnen* in 1903, the only open exponent of a Nietzschean point of view is a sad, youthful outcast with the significant name of Spiessl. Spiessl, like Siebelind or Della Pergola, observes life with the sharpness of Nietzschean psychological insight, but at the same time indulges in extravagances of desire, a longing for passions and powers he does not possess, that Mann now specifically sees as a naïve and

<sup>24</sup> For a discussion of the artist problem here, compare Rolf N. Linn, "The Place of 'Pippo Spano' in the Work of Heinrich Mann," *Modern Language Forum*, XXVII (1952), 130-43.

typically youthful folly. In Spiessl's case such desires are born simply of his shyness and misery and are clearly a form of compensation for his own inadequacy. When the world treats him more kindly, he manages to live as a reasonably contented bourgeois.

While Mann shared with Nietzsche a hatred for the prevailing values, the enemy seemed to have changed. Where Nietzsche hated complacency, the comfortable and superficial liberalism of his day, Mann hated the tyrant, the crude worshiper of power, who appeared toward the end of the century. While a doctrine of power may have a daring fascination for the sensitive intellectual, it seemed to Mann to have more dangerous effects in justifying the brutal authoritarianism which he saw as a growing and frightening force in the modern world. Mann remained through Nietzsche very much aware of the beast of prey in man; he reveals the enormous passions underlying the civilized surface of life, and it is this which gives his work its sharp and frightening outlines. Mann's portraits of petty tyrants, crude "immoralists" who compensate for their own weakness with arrogance and brutality, grew progressively more violent in form. A sequence seems to follow from the tyrant schoolmaster Professor Unrat through the neo-Fascist Count Pardi in *Zwischen den Rassen* to the insolent and stupid "little superman" Dietrich Hessling who was for Mann a typical representative of later Wilhelminian Germany.

With the spreading influence of such conduct and such teachings under Nazism, Heinrich Mann never again became free to observe Nietzsche objectively. In exile in 1939, when he wrote an introductory essay to an English selection from Nietzsche's "Living Thoughts,"<sup>25</sup> and again briefly in his wartime autobiographical study *Ein Zeitalter wird besichtigt*,<sup>26</sup> Mann indicated his point of view. Despite much sympathy and understanding, especially for the Nietzsche who destroyed old idols and old illusions, Mann emphasized the fearful and menacing character of Nietzsche's work, and his final word is one of rejection.

At one place in the Nietzsche introduction Mann seems to have come round to challenging his own beginnings. He satirizes what he calls the Nietzschean "heroes," the Italian *condottieri*, the pagan Norsemen, in a passage that seems almost a rebuttal of the admiration he had expressed for the ancestors of Violante. Instead, Mann gives his sympathy to a new "Prince of the Renaissance," Henri Quatre, the disciple of Montaigne. From satire and caricature Mann turned to a study in real greatness. He quotes Montaigne's words on the duties of a prince. "Let him shine for humanity, for truthfulness, for loyalty, for justice." This is a message from a saner age no doubt, but it is one which deliberately and obstinately ignores the desperate crisis that Nietzsche represented and reveals the distance Mann had come from the preoccupations of his youth.

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<sup>25</sup> Published by Cassell's, London, 1939.

<sup>26</sup> Published in Berlin, 1947.



## REVIEWS

*Pierre de Ronsard: Œuvres complètes.* Tome XVII, première partie: *Le Tombeau de Charles IX (1574); Discours au Roi (1575); Les Estoilles (1575); Le Tombeau de Marguerite de France (1575).* Édition critique par Paul Laumonier. Revisée et complétée par I. Silver et R. Lebègue. Paris: Librairie Marcel Didier, Société des Textes Français Modernes, 1959. Pp. xxv + 93.

The first part of Tome XVII of Ronsard's *Œuvres complètes* contains an introduction signed by Paul Laumonier and dated "mars-avril, 1948." Commenting on the "Ode à Phoebus" and the "Ode au roy Charles," which were probably written in 1573 or in 1574 (before May 30, on which day Charles IX died), Laumonier said of Ronsard:

pouvait-il tenir un autre langage, au moment même où il exaltait les charmes physiques d'Anne d'Aquaviva, de Françoise Babou, dame d'Estrées, de sa sœur Isabeau, de Marguerite de Valois, et répétait à Hélène de Surgères l'exhortation bien connue:

Cueillez dès aujourd'hui les roses de la vie?

Does not this quotation from Laumonier suggest that the pieces devoted to Marguerite de Valois and the ladies of the Court belong to the same period? In February, 1949, Paul Laumonier was kind enough to write to me. He said then that the *Sonnets pour Astrée* were composed by Ronsard at the request of Béranger du Gast (FR, XXVII [1955], 287). In the introduction to Tome XVII of the *Œuvres complètes*, Laumonier states: "Il est possible et vraisemblable que ces sonnets aient été composés à la demande du roi Henri III, que Du Gast avait suivi en Pologne, et dont il était resté le favori." Therefore, Ronsard would have written the *Sonnets et Madrigals pour Astrée* after May 30, 1574.

As for the liaison between Ronsard and Hélène, Laumonier specifies: "Il [Ronsard] avait cinquante ans, dit-il, quand il cessa par raison de lui adresser ses guirlandes de vers avec ses soupirs, et la composition de ses derniers sonnets coïncide à peu près avec la mort de Charles IX..." He also quotes the lines in which Ronsard gives some precise information: "Ja dix lustres passez..." which means that he was more than fifty years old; and, as he insisted he had been born the year of the battle of Pavie, the aforesaid line would refer to the year 1574 or 1575, unless one were ready to admit that Ronsard was born in 1522, in which case the line would refer to the year 1572.

Let us also say that in 1578 the *Sonnets pour Hélène* did not end with the sonnets in which Ronsard alluded to the death of Charles IX. It is only in the edition of 1584 that the two sonnets "Hélas! voicy le jour" and "Je chantois" are the last ones of the collection. Those two sonnets, in any case, can be dated: they were composed in 1574.

In *Ronsard, poète lyrique*, third edition (Paris, 1932), p. 242, Laumonier remarked that it was, perhaps, in 1573 that

Ronsard chanta les *Amours d'Eurymedon et de Callirée*, pseudonymes transparents qui désignaient Charles IX et M<sup>lle</sup> d'Atri d'Aquaviva; c'est aussi à cette époque que... il écrivit une bonne partie des *Sonnets pour Helene*. C'est enfin en 1573 qu'il collabora au dernier des grands galas de Cour...

Here he refers to the reception organized by Catherine de Médicis, at the



Tuileries, on August 19, 1573,<sup>1</sup> to honor the Polish ambassadors. Brantôme spoke several times of this ball (*Mémoires*, ed. Lalanne, VII, 371-72, and VIII, 25-26 and 33-34):

Lorsqu'elle parut ainsi parée en ses Tuileries, je dis à M. de Ronsard, qui estoit près de moy: "Dites le vray, monsieur, ne vous semble-il pas voir ceste belle reine en tel appareil parestre comme la belle aurore . . . ?" M. de Ronsard me l'avoua; et sur ceste comparaison qu'il trouva fort belle, il en fit un beau sonnet qu'il me donna, que je voudrois avoir donné beaucoup et l'avoir pour l'insérer ici. (p. 34)

In a note, Lalanne said that in the works of Ronsard he found only one sonnet "où se trouve la comparaison dont parle Brantôme; c'est le troisième du livre II des *Sonnets pour Hélène* . . ." And I believe that this sonnet contains an allusion to the reception of August 19, 1573. But, in *Ronsard et son temps*, "ouvrage publié sous les auspices de la Société des amis de la Bibliothèque Nationale . . ." in 1925, p. 108, is the following commentary: "Le poète devait reprendre cette idée [the comparison of Marguerite with the dawn] dans une poésie qu'il dédia à la reine de Navarre: Ce dieu qui se repaist. . ." In this piece, indeed, one notices the same comparison, and there are details which seem to apply to the ball at the Tuileries.

Brantôme had said: "M. de Ronsard eut grande raison de composer ceste riche élégie qu'on voit parmi ses œuvres, à l'honneur de ceste belle princesse Marguerite de France, non encore mariée, où a introduit . . . la déesse Vénus . . ." (pp. 29-30). Lalanne remarks, in a note, that there was, there, an allusion to the piece "Ce Dieu qui se repaist." Laumonier (*Ronsard, poète lyrique*, p. 256, n. 3) made a correction: "c'est de la *Charité* seule qu'il s'agit dans Brantôme."

Here we must call attention to the fact that in 1578 Ronsard published two pieces under the general title *La Charité*. The first begins with "Ce jeune Dieu," whereas the second begins with "Ce Dieu qui se repaist." The passage of Brantôme (pp. 29-30) which we have just quoted refers to the piece "Ce jeune Dieu." Later on, these two pieces were separated from each other, and the one which begins with "Ce Dieu qui se repaist" was published in the *Bocage Royal*. Thus it is clear that the two poems which constitute *La Charité* and one of the *Sonnets pour Hélène* refer to events which took place in the same period.

Elsewhere I have called attention to the reception of August 19, 1573, and I thought that two other sonnets of the *Sonnets pour Hélène* seemed to allude to the same ball (see "Ronsard, panégyriste de la Cour," *Convivium*, n.s. [1954], 556-64). I am even tempted to believe that one of these sonnets, "Le soir qu'Amour vous fist en la salle descendre," contains not only an allusion to this ball, but to Marguerite de Valois. According to M. Lavaud, this would be the same princess that Desportes designated by the name Hippolyte: "Perle unique du Monde et sa fleur immortelle." Desportes also said:

J'estoy dans une salle ombragée de la presse  
Pour voir, sans estre veu, ma dame qui dansoit.  
(J. Lavaud, *Ph. Desportes* [Paris, 1936], p. 157)

These lines were published "dans la 1ère édition des *Premières Oeuvres de Philippe Des Portes*, dont le privilège est daté du 28 juillet 1573," according to M. Fernand Desonay (*Ronsard, poète de l'amour* [Brussels, 1959], III, 152, n. 7). It seems that Desportes wrote the aforementioned lines before that date and that

<sup>1</sup> On the "Festivals for the Polish Ambassadors, 1573," see Frances A. Yates, *The Valois Tapestries* (London, 1959), pp. 67-72. Roland Mousnier, in his *Les XVI<sup>e</sup> et XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, 2nd edition (Paris, 1956), opposite p. 17, gives a plate which refers to the Festivals of 1573, but erroneously mentions Henri II.

they would refer to another ball. What is significant, however, is that in 1573 several poets praised the beauty of Marguerite de Valois, with the probable intention of being agreeable to the duc d'Anjou (the future Henri III). This was, indeed, the case with Desportes.

Ronsard also designated Marguerite de Valois under the name of Hippolyte—in a sonnet which was published for the first time in 1609 (see Lavaud, ed., *Sonnets pour Hélène*, p. 114).

As to the piece "Ce jeune Dieu," it describes the ball at which Marguerite de Valois is led to the dance by the "Roy," who holds her by the hand. Blanchemain has a footnote about the word "Roy." He writes "Henri III" (IV, 82), whereas P. Champion (*Ronsard et son temps* [Paris, 1925], p. 247) is affirmative, and without hesitation he comments on that passage: "Le roi Charles IX la prend par la main." Laumonier elaborates:

Si l'on en croyait le commentaire de Marcassus, reproduit dans l'édition Blanchemain, ce serait sous le règne de son frère Henri III. Mais il suffit de lire le texte avec attention pour se convaincre que ce fut sous Charles IX. . . . (*Ronsard, poète lyrique*, p. 256)

Brantôme, however, said several times (VIII, 73) that it was Henri III who "la menoit ordinairement dancier le grand bal." Elsewhere he tells us that in 1576 Juan d'Autriche, who admired Marguerite de Valois, "eust moyen et loisir de la voir à son aise danser, menée par le roy son frère, comme d'ordinaire il le faisoit" (VIII, 26). Indeed, it is easier to imagine the handsome and smart duc d'Anjou opening the ball with his sister than the awkward Charles IX taking the hand of his sister to dance a ballet. Besides, Marguerite de Valois wrote in her diary that a few months before leaving France, the king of Poland (the future Henri III) tried "par tous moyens" to make her forget "les mauvais offices de son ingratitude" (see H. Mariéjol, *La vie de Marguerite de Valois* [Paris, 1928], p. 61).

Thus, everything seems to indicate that during the summer of 1573, the duc d'Anjou, king of Poland, was looking for every possible means of obtaining the friendship of his sister. When, in 1578, Ronsard published the fifth edition of his collected works, he wanted to ingratiate himself with Henri III. To praise Marguerite de Valois and at the same time to recall the ball of August 19, 1573, were means by which Ronsard tried to gain the favor of the new king, Henri III.

It remains a matter of conjecture, however, whether the texts of pieces composed earlier than 1578 were modified when they were published for the first time. There is no way one can tell whether changes were made. One can only say that in 1578 in the pieces entitled *La Charité*, Ronsard uses the term "royne de Navarre" to designate Marguerite de Valois. The latter became queen only after the death of Jeanne d'Albret (June 4, 1572) and after the marriage of Marguerite and Henri de Navarre (August 18, 1572). If, as I believe, the term "mon Roy" designates Henri, king of Poland and later king of France, this must have been after May 9, 1573, or after May 30, 1574.

Laumonier had claimed that *La Charité* was written between April 6 and August 18, 1572; that is, between the date at which the marriage contract of Marguerite and Henri de Navarre was signed and the time of their wedding. Brantôme spoke of Marguerite as "non encor mariée"; but he may have been wrong, as he was on several occasions. We can at least say that the reception of August 19, 1573, seems to be alluded to in all the pieces of poetry which we have quoted. These are all related to one another; they refer to the same period, the same events.

Let us now turn to other collections which were published for the first time

in 1578. The *Amours d'Eurymedon* would, for M. Desonay, correspond to a love affair of Charles IX, probably during the years 1572-1573 (III, 45). About the pieces *Sur la mort de Marie*, M. Desonay concludes that, outside of the "Élégie" and the "Épitaphe," they have little to do with "l'Angevine de Bourgueil" (III, 175). As for the *Sonnets et Madrigals pour Astrée*, I believe that they belong to the summer of 1573, although M. Desonay sees in them an allusion to "trois mois" which would go from the first fortnight of February, 1564, to May 9 (III, 95-96). Everything, on the contrary, seems to corroborate my hypothesis according to which the pieces Ronsard published for the first time in 1578 could not have been written before the time when he was preparing the fourth edition of his collected works. Thus, the pieces *Sur la mort de Marie*, *Les Amours d'Eurymedon et de Callirée*, *La Charité*, the *Sonnets et Madrigals pour Astrée*, and the *Sonnets pour Hélène* were, apparently, composed after December, 1572-January, 1573.

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*An Age of Crisis: Man and World in Eighteenth Century French Thought.* By LESTER G. CROCKER. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, Goucher College Series, 1959. Pp. xx + 496. \$7.50.

This is probably the most remarkable study in the field of eighteenth-century French literature published in a number of years, partly for the reason that it is controversial and likely to serve as a topic for discussion among students in the field for a long time to come. For Lester Crocker, chairman of the Department of Modern Languages at Goucher College and previously best-known as a distinguished Diderot scholar, is a man with a definite thesis which serves to amalgamate his searching investigation into a vast and complex whole, a thesis which will not come as a surprise to those who have read his earlier *Two Diderot Studies* (1952) or his article on "Voltaire's Struggle for Humanism" (1957).

To put it briefly, Crocker attempts to show that the French thinkers of the eighteenth century, after discarding as unsatisfactory to their humanistic aspirations the moral code based on Christian metaphysics, were not able to replace it by an equally valid concept of man and his proper place in a scheme of things from which divine guidance had been removed. It is his contention that the ensuing dilemma opened up a crisis in the modern consciousness that has been far from resolved. In all fairness, it should be added that this thesis is not meant to be reactionary, and the author points out that "the humanist of today, like those of the eighteenth century, cannot turn back.... He cannot give up his faith in man's eventual maturation, in his eventual humanization." If the crisis is still upon us, there is no reason to despair of our ability to overcome it or to conclude that the major thinkers of the eighteenth century were wrong in fearlessly posing the problem, although this point is not always made entirely clear.

It is not possible to see in this present volume all the ramifications of Crocker's thesis; but we are told that this is only the first of three parts: the second will deal with the "theories relating to the genesis of moral experience and the nature of moral judgments," and the third will analyze "the ethical systems and value concepts which were evolved in an effort to solve the problems of the moral life." In the meantime, the volume now before us constitutes some of the most exciting writing in eighteenth-century history of ideas that this reviewer has ever come across.

In fourteen brilliant chapters the author examines the major problems that

faced the thinkers of that period, as they turned their back on the metaphysical assumptions of Christian theology: first, that of man's relation to God and his precise position with regard to the rest of creation; then, the thorny question of human responsibility and freedom in a universe governed by the inexorable laws of matter; and finally, the search for new mainsprings capable of governing human conduct. A final chapter illustrates a characteristic development in the particular field of the novel, from the high-water mark of Christian ethics that finds its expression in the *Princesse de Clèves* through the sensationalism and materialism implicit in the novels of the earlier eighteenth century to the moral anarchy rampant in the writings of a Laclos and a Rétif de la Bretonne. This chapter is obviously intended as a tangible corollary of the thesis contained in the major portion of the book, but while the trend outlined in the case of the novel is indisputable, we may not quite as readily admit the relevancy of the demonstration generally.

In his prefatory note Crocker apologizes for giving as large a place as he has to lesser authors; but it should be pointed out that while he necessarily has to review in turn all those writers whose attitudes toward a particular problem were in any way significant, he never for one moment loses sight of the major figures, nor do we see a large array of names flit past us in a shadowy or meaningless procession: the secondary figures are deftly assembled around those in whom most of his readers will be primarily interested. This method has the merit of enabling us to trace back to sometimes fairly obscure sources certain ideas which we have encountered in the writings of one or another of the major authors. Although the study deliberately and wisely concentrates on French thought, a number of illuminating marginal discussions outline influential foreign theories which either had a crucial bearing on the development of French thought (e.g., those of Hobbes, Spinoza, Locke, Leibniz, Shaftesbury, and Mandeville) or were in some way related to it (such as those of Hume and Kant).

The center of the stage is naturally occupied by the more eminent French *philosophes*, those who are referred to as humanists because, while they assailed the traditional metaphysical basis of morals, they yet tried to maintain for man a distinctive place in the natural Universe, governed by the same inexorable laws as the rest of that Universe, but having in addition his own special code. Their most agonizing problem was to justify this lay morality in the face of such cynical and compromising fellow travelers as La Mettrie and the Marquis de Sade, anarchists who pushed what they considered to be the creed of the *philosophes* to the ultimate consequences of moral nihilism.

In this connection it is worth noting that Crocker, for the purposes of his thesis, attributes cardinal importance to the Marquis de Sade, who is mentioned almost as often as Voltaire and more frequently than Montesquieu, D'Holbach, or Helvétius. It is his contention that the question first raised by Bayle, whether ethics could survive without a religious base, loomed as large at the end of the century as at the beginning, and it is the dramatic soul-searching that went on with regard to this issue which gives both tension and pathos to the period under discussion. Contrary to some recent students, such as Dérathé and Vartanian, Crocker de-emphasizes the rationalistic elements in the thought of the most representative writers, an interpretation naturally calculated to draw our attention to the inconclusive or negative aspects of their theories.

Admirers of the Enlightenment cannot help being concerned at the inevitable conclusions of the projected study. Whereas the evidence piled up on the side of the author's thesis is formidable, is it really true that the thought of the *philosophes* led Western man into an impasse from which the only way out

seems to be a return to orthodoxy or a connivance at moral anarchy? Were the tendencies all too evident in the novel of the late eighteenth century really the legitimate consequences of this thought or merely its misbegotten offspring? Is it not equally true that the Enlightenment, both by its proclaimed tenets and by the legacy it bequeathed to modern liberalism, gave a tremendous impetus to the moral conscience of man, supplying him with new and powerful arguments to combat some of the most inveterate evils, such as slavery and torture, that had plagued humanity in spite of many centuries of religiously inspired morality?

If Lester Crocker expands his study to the three parts (or two volumes) currently planned, it will constitute a unique monument to American scholarship in the field of French eighteenth-century literature in which it has already attained such remarkable stature within the last generation. A feature that adds greatly to the topical interest of the present volume is the author's thorough acquaintance with contemporary writings, which enables him time and again to draw analogies between modern works and those of the eighteenth century. This is, of course, in view of his basic assumption, far more than a device to arouse interest. It is an integral part of his demonstration that our present moral crisis can be traced directly back to the Enlightenment.

Both the author and the Johns Hopkins Press are to be congratulated on their courage in placing the footnotes, of vital importance to a thorough understanding of the text, at the bottom of the pages where they belong. While it would be petty to criticize minor slips that are almost inevitable in a work of this scope, the present reviewer has been somewhat troubled by a certain lack of footnote logic, above all the excessive use of the term *op. cit.*, which often refers to works quoted as far back as a previous chapter and is applied in some cases where more than one work by an author has been mentioned.

Let it be said in conclusion that Lester Crocker's readers will eagerly await the publication of his second volume and that it is to be hoped that the various foundations which have enabled him to produce the splendid book now before us—and they could not have put their funds to a wiser use—will be equally generous in facilitating his future research.

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*The Pageant of Elizabethan England.* By ELIZABETH BURTON. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958. Pp. 276. \$3.95.

Much has been written about Elizabeth and her courtiers, much less about the average Englishman. Miss Burton's entertaining and informative volume serves as a kind of layman's handbook of the daily lives of the Elizabethans from the humblest cottager on up through the halls of the great to the queen herself.

Although the domestic life of the average Elizabethan is the author's chief concern, she devotes many pages to Elizabeth and her great lords. The reason for this emphasis, she tells us, is that courtly circles act as models for the lives of the "less great and the small." Lamenting the lack of recorded conversations, Miss Burton decides that her only course is to imitate the Egyptologists who interpreted a civilization by its artifacts. So the Elizabethans will speak to us, she says, "of human everyday things mainly through inanimate objects and through the food they ate, the games they played, the sicknesses they suffered. . . ."

Miss Burton writes in a breezy, colorful fashion, nervously shying away from



scholarly or pedantic pronouncements. Yet behind this façade of informality are long hours of scholarly research. She makes no pretense of originality, but from a score of books, such as Thomas Birch's *Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* and William Harrison's *Description of England*, she selects just the things we want to know.

One could dip almost anywhere into the *Pageant of Elizabethan England* and come up with a vivid bit of information about the houses or the furniture, about the food, the medicine, the clothes, or the gardens of the men and women of sixteenth-century England. A few examples, chosen more or less at random, will perhaps serve to illustrate the character of the book.

In her description of the homes of the nobles and the rich gentry Miss Burton tells us that the galleries were far more than a lavish display of riches. They were Renaissance "rumpus rooms," where in cold and wet weather the Elizabethans danced, played games, exercised with foils, or just promenaded as the rain beat against the windows. Heated only by fireplaces and by braziers which could be carried about and huddled over, the houses of the great were probably more uncomfortable in winter than were the smaller homes. As for the plumbing, it was not, says the author, "the strong point of the first Elizabethans any more than it is of the second."

All Elizabethan furniture was too heavy and ornate for Miss Burton's taste, but the wardrobe, massive and hideous, "which has disfigured every English bedroom for centuries was," she says, "the unforgivable crime. . . ." From her appraisal of "furniture and furnishings" the author slips easily to a discussion of clothes. Nightgowns, we are told, "weren't something you slept in . . . the women slept in night-smocks and on rising put the night-gown over the smock." The description of food and drink, with its emphasis on sugar and spice, leads naturally enough to the chapter "Of Ailments and Their Cure." Here superstition and empirical knowledge are displayed working side by side. To prevent the scarring of smallpox, red cloth was habitually draped over the windows of the patient's room, an apparently superstitious, but nonetheless efficacious, practice which has puzzled many scholars. Now, according to Miss Burton, modern science has shown that the actinic rays of the sun which are responsible for scarring can be filtered out through "red glass . . . or . . . a red petticoat."

Dozens of unusual facts about games and gardens, cosmetics and perfumes, conclude this interesting volume which is enlivened not only by the author's chatty comments, but by some seventy-four delightful illustrations by Felix Kelly.

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*History of the Royal Society*, by Thomas Sprat. Edited by JACKSON I. COPE and HAROLD WHITMORE JONES. Saint Louis: Washington University Studies, 1958. Pp. xxxii + 439 + 78. \$7.50.

An edition of Sprat's *History* has long been desired, for the original editions, although not quite rare, are not readily available, and, as the present editors point out, only "snippings" have been reprinted, resulting "in more than one startling conclusion in print."

It is fortunate that the modern edition is so good. The editors have, justifiably, decided to reproduce the first edition of 1667. A small objection might be made to the decision to include in the body of general commentaries notations of tex-



tual variants between the first and second editions; it would be convenient to have these in one place. The explanatory comments are for the most part models of what such an edition should have. They are neither skimpy nor officiously detailed. There are identifications of names, parallel passages from Birch's *History*, pertinent excerpts from modern studies. If any material might have been omitted, it would be the frequent quotations from the animadversions of the querulous Stubbe. These are not sufficient for a thorough study of the controversies—a subject R. F. Jones has just about exhausted in any case—and, taken as isolated paragraphs, if they provide a comic relief, they hardly give the general reader an adequate impression of the position of the opponents of the virtuosi. Otherwise, the notes provide a very satisfactory apparatus for the student of the history of science, the student of literature, and for the philosopher: a wide sweep indeed.

One is tempted to suggest a few lines of inquiry an available edition may open up. The *History* has too often been used as a kind of reference work, only those passages which seem to bear on a particular problem being consulted. But, we can now realize, this book should be read as a whole. It is not merely an account (none too accurate) of how the Royal Society was founded; it is not merely a collection of some early experiments; it is far more than a collection of paragraphs, quoted ad infinitum, about a new prose style. It is, preëminently, the statement of the credo of a new era, perhaps indeed the first real document of the Enlightenment. One comes to realize more fully that the Restoration was certainly not a "return to normalcy"; it was a real crusade, an effort to realize Bacon's vision of the Great Instauration. Mankind seemed to be on the verge of reclaiming Eden, its lordship over truth and nature, which millennia of false opinions, spun like cobwebs from man's proud mind, had lost.

And indeed all Europe at this time, have two general Wars, which they ought in honor to make: The one a *holy*, the other a *Philosophical*: The one against the common Enemy of *Christendom*, the other also against powerful, and barbarous Foes, that have not been fully subdu'd almost these six thousand years, *Ignorance*, and *False Opinions*. (p. 57)

To "redeem the minds of Men, from obscurity, uncertainty, and bondage"—that is the goal of a united effort of "all civil Nations."

It is usual, but not wholly accurate, to regard the *History* as a special pleading for "science" as opposed to the "humanities." The situation is much more complex. We remember that Cowley and Dryden, among others, wrote poems lauding the new enterprise in terms like those of Sprat. There was a movement, permeating every aspect of intellectual life, against "metaphysics," against any thought not constantly in contact with "things," with reality in its commonly perceived form. Swift, for example, certainly shared these ideals. In Sprat there is such a Swiftian statement as this: "For there may be a greater Excess in the subtilty of men's wits, than in their thickness: as we see those threads, which are of too fine a spinning, are found to be more useless, than those which are homespun, and gross." Sprat's distrust of the "colors of rhetoric" as not merely useless, but positively dangerous, and his projects for reform of English language and style were congenial to Swift. Perhaps, indeed, Swift disapproved of the Royal Society partly on the basis of his understanding of Sprat's own ideals: perhaps he believed that the Society, in spite of its lofty protestations, was really introducing its own brand of unproductive subtlety, which would become as tyrannous and as pernicious as the "old talkative arts" of the schools.

It is, as I have intimated, an oversimplification to say, as almost always is

said, that Sprat helps to inaugurate the movement to push humanistic interests out of doors. The extreme opponents of the Royal Society, with their either/or, may have done more to hasten the conflict between the two sides of learning. Sprat himself, the enthusiastic advocate of experimentation, yet held Bacon's view that the study of man must parallel the study of nature. He did not believe that "great change in Works, and Opinions" should enter into education (p. 324). He envisioned education as continuing the several "arts":

Of those of the *Mind*, some intend the purity, and Ornament of *Speech*: Some the Knowledge of the Actions of former, and present *Times*: Some the Government, and virtue of our *Lives*: Some the *Method* of reasoning: Some the skill in the motions and measures of the *Heavens*, and the *Earth*, and all this great Frame of *Visible* things.

He realized things that ardent defenders of humanities still too often fail to realize: that tradition has no sacred authority of itself, that a mystic validity must not be thought to repose in any classic, and that a new relationship between literature and science has come to be.

Sprat's proposals somewhat anticipate C. P. Snow's recent call for a new rapprochement between science and humanities. Certainly, Sprat never contemplated a world of specialists, with each one locked in his own cell. And he points out that the New Philosophy will provide a rich resource for new "inventions" by the poet. Indeed, poetry of the early eighteenth century carried out his prophecy. Sprat never betrays the dogmatism of a later age which held that, as the "beautiful fictions" about nature are replaced by scientific exactitudes, poetry must inescapably decline, and that, therefore, science must hold the field alone; and, one cannot help speculating, was such a conclusion ever inevitable?

Finally, the real nature of Sprat's attitude toward language and style, a subject so long discussed, is, it seems to me, far from clear even yet. The editors make this statement:

As Sprat once commented, "it is almost impossible, that ones words should not be perspicuous, when his thoughts are clear . . . and the thing to be spoken is thoroughly understood." It is an optimistic declaration that cautious, rational language will inevitably unveil nature, and illuminate man with the inner light of her truth. Only on the surface is Sprat's idea different from the Puritans' insistence in their funeral oratory that the subject's name somehow anagrammatically embraces his essential qualities. Nor is either attitude essentially different from the Quakers' feeling that the incantatory repetition of Scriptural words stripped of grammar was the closest means of grasping the truths of Christian theology, because those truths were in the words, ready to emerge from their concentrated repetition. (p. xxxi)

Only on the surface, I should think, is there any resemblance between these attitudes. The Puritans and the Quakers assume a divinely guaranteed text, in which truth and language are inseparable: the very words are somehow a part of the perfect, completed revelation. The Quakers' attitude shows signs of the method of gematria so widely used in this century to wring hidden truths out of a divinely inspired text; and the Puritan anagrams are obviously an extension of that mystical procedure.

Sprat, on the contrary, would say that a name is of no importance or use except as it identifies an individual, and one name will be as efficient as another. His whole point is that there is no given truth inherent in words, or in any statement, or in any idea: language is as neutral, as useful, as lacking in any intrinsic significance apart from its use, as an alembic in an experiment. In his attitude toward all things, moreover, he is a pragmatist, perhaps one of

the first real ones in the Western world. In a remarkable passage he advocates settling religious controversies "by considerations, which may be fetch'd from the *Religion of mankind*, the *Nature of Government*, and *humane Society*, and *Scripture itself*" (p. 22). Scripture comes in almost as an afterthought, and authority in general is excluded.

In sum, the Puritan attitude toward the language of the Bible, the emphasis on literalness, on the naked meaning of a perfect text, leads to the position of Wilberforce in the nineteenth century; and Sprat is the ancestor of Huxley. Bacon, not the Puritans, is the ancestor of Sprat's ideas about language and style; and Locke, with his insistence on the empirical nature of knowledge, is perhaps his greatest immediate successor.

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*Schiller, 1759-1959: Commemorative American Studies.* Edited by JOHN R. FREY. Urbana: University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, Vol. 46, 1959. Pp. vii + 213. \$3.50, paper; \$4.50, cloth.

These nine essays by eminent Schiller scholars in the United States, plus a comprehensive bibliography of books, unpublished dissertations, and learned articles written by American scholars and published since the turn of the century, will probably be the most erudite offering of academic America to the memory of Schiller in the Bicentennial year.

The Foreword announces that the contributors "were given complete freedom as to choice of topic and language." Evidently no limit on length was imposed. None of the contributions is short. The volume approximates 95,000 words. Freedom of choice of subject matter has not resulted in too much overlapping, albeit the majority of the essays concern Schiller's philosophy, aesthetics, and his relation to Greek classical culture.

No article can be said to have popular appeal. None can be read with full appreciation except by persons already acquainted with Schiller's philosophical literature—with the possible exception of Harold Jantz's "Schiller's Indian Threnody," which indicates a continuance of his research in the field of German-American literary relations.

The initial article, "Antike Götterwelt in Wielands und Schillers Sicht: Zur Entstehung und Auffassung der 'Götter Griechenlands'" by Melitta Gerhard, concisely, factually, and convincingly shows the dependence of Schiller's poem on the latter's personal contact with Wieland and with that author's "Göttergespräche." Henry Hatfield's "Schiller, Winckelmann, and the Myth of Greece," more prolix and rhetorical, continues the consideration of Schiller's classical connections, including the "Götter Griechenlands," but devotes more attention to the influence of Goethe and "Winckelmannian classicity." He draws two major conclusions: "Schiller's relation to the myth of Greece was stimulating and productive," yet his "affinity to the Greeks was not particularly close"; and "his grasp of the language was weak indeed, and his knowledge of the literature uneven at best."

"Schiller's Philosophie der Existenz" by Hans Jaeger emphasizes the duality of man in Schiller's philosophy. "Wir sind, weil wir sind; wir empfinden, denken und wollen, weil ausser uns noch etwas anders ist," is a reversal of Descartes' "Cogito ergo sum." Jaeger observes points of contact of Schiller's philosophy with that of contemporary existentialists, especially of Heidegger, but carefully calls attention to divergences between the two systems.

F. W. Kaufmann's "Schuldverwicklung in Schillers Dramen" focuses attention on the theatrical works. Again we encounter "the idea of existential guilt-involvement"—not Aristotelian "tragic" guilt, but Hebbel's concept that the very fact of individual existence constitutes a potentially tragic situation. Here Kaufmann appropriately quotes the title of Franz Werfel's famous novel, *Nicht nur der Mörder, sondern auch der Ermordete ist schuldig*, and his analysis of Schiller's dramas, especially of *Wallenstein*, indicates that everybody is guilty, that guilt is universal.

Helmut Rehder's "Zum Problem der 'Erschütterung' in Schillers Dichtung und Gedankenwelt" demonstrates how much Schiller employs the element of that which is terrifying, shocking, and even gruesome, to attain dramatic effect. Rehder painstakingly, judiciously, and *in extenso* adduces examples from all categories of Schiller's fiction to prove his thesis.

In "Schiller's 'Treacherous Signs': The Function of the Letters in His Early Plays," Oskar Seidlin deplores the unimportance heretofore attached to Schiller's abundant use of epistles in his youthful dramas, discusses the significance of epistles as instruments of "trickery and treachery," especially in *Die Räuber*, *Don Carlos*, and *Kabale und Liebe*, but admits that letters yield in importance to "superhuman 'messages'" in the more mature dramas.

The final essays, "Chorus and Choral Function in Schiller" by Walter Silz and "*Oedipus Tyrannus* und *Die Braut von Messina*" by Hermann Weigand, treat of the same drama. Silz first discusses Schiller's essay on the use of the chorus. Then, considering the functioning of the chorus in the drama, he finds lyrical choral passages "which deserve to be numbered with Schiller's finest reflective poetry," but which "dramatically induce a paralysis." A third part is devoted to Schiller's partiality for the moralizing role played by the chorus or the "choral" element in his other works (*Wallenstein*, *Tell*, "An die Freude," etc.). He would consider the voice of the bell ("Das Lied von der Glocke") a "choral" voice.

Weigand's article begins with an astute analysis of the plot of *Oedipus*. The second part demonstrates the inferiority of the German play to the "Athenian masterpiece." The writer is rather severe on Prader and Ernst Müller for inadequate interpretations of the idea of "Schuld" in Schiller's drama. He asserts that *Die Braut von Messina* makes sense only in terms of a fate drama, a "horror thriller" (cf. Rehder's "Erschütterung," *supra*). He cites all possible internal evidence to maintain his thesis successfully. Nevertheless, his apparently reluctant statement that "the imagination of the dramatist in devising a plot of such fiendish ingenuity catered to the same impulses as does the present-day sex and murder thriller" may offend the sense of piety of Schiller's admirers.

This brief review can only indicate some characteristics of these essays. The collection will prove interesting and enthralling to students of the philosophy and literary practices of Schiller, but will probably prove difficult for the general student of literature.

In the mechanics of bookmaking this effort deserves the highest praise. Pleasing format, good paper, clear print, and impeccable accuracy! This reviewer fails to discern one typographical error. Even the fine print in the footnotes is invariably clear and easily legible.

Scholars interested in Schiller's philosophical fiction are deeply indebted to the authors and the editor for a volume of which all "Germanisten" in America can be justly proud.

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